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Preface

The Brassey albums, seventy volumes of photographs collected from all over the world in the 1870s and 1880s, together with the travel books written by the compiler of the albums, Annie Lady Brassey, present a unique opportunity to examine the role of photography in this period in constructing ideas about place and empire. Further, the sheer size of the Brassey collection renders it a valuable resource for the study of individual histories of photography, for example, nineteenth-century photography in the Middle East. Lady Brassey herself has been overlooked in recent studies of Victorian women travelers, although in her own day she was highly esteemed for both her travels and her extremely popular travel books. This book draws on a range of sources to investigate various aspects of the Brassey material, arguing that Lady Brassey's photograph albums, as well as the others considered for comparative purposes, reveal both the complexity of the photographic record and the instability of the Orientalist paradigm into which they are usually placed.

We begin in Chapter 1 with an overview of Lady Brassey's life and projects, as well as an examination of issues relevant to subsequent discussions of the travel literature, the photographs, and the albums in which the photographs are assembled. Lady Brassey, the author of the books and the driving force behind a museum and the production of the albums, is at the center of this project, which begins with an examination of her life. Chapter 2 then goes on to consider her as a traveler, and as a public figure, and ends with an overview of her travel literature. Much of this chapter is presented in her own voice, in extracts from her books and diaries. It was difficult to keep those quoted passages in check because she had a lot to say about herself, her family, and the world around her. While Lady Brassey is a unique subject, as is any person, understanding her life presents particular challenges. There is nothing in her writing or in her activities to indicate that she considered herself anything other than an ordinary woman of her period and class. Nor did she set out to accomplish anything extraordinary, with the possible exception of her work on behalf of the St John Ambulance Association, which did however fall firmly within the kind of charitable activity expected of women of her social position. Yet her accomplishments were extraordinary, and it is the object of Chapter 2 to reconcile her particular life and achievements with the broader social, political, and historical contexts in which they took place.

We then move in Chapter 3 to a consideration of the seventy volumes of photographs which comprise the Brassey album collection. Their bindings, contents, and labels are examined, as well as their relationship to the Brassey Museum and its collections. The albums are filled with the work of professional, commercial photographers, some of whom can be identified either by internal evidence or by comparing photographs in the albums with examples published elsewhere. Further, Lady Brassey was herself an amateur photographer, and in her books she often mentions taking photographs, providing useful insights into the difficulties involved in amateur photography at this point in the development of photographic technology. Some attempt is made to identify the work of Lady Brassey in the albums, although it is not always possible to distinguish her work from that of other people traveling in her group.

In the second part of Chapter 3 our focus shifts to the eight albums which are devoted to aspects of the Middle East. The more than 600 photographs contained in these albums constitute a major collection of nineteenth-century commercial photography of the Middle East. Of importance not only because of its size, but because it can be securely dated, this collection has a great deal to tell us of the history of photography for this region. The eight albums contain a preponderance of images of Egypt, including many photographs by the lesser known Emile Béchard and L. Fiorillo, as well as work by the more well-known commercial photographers, Pascal Sebah, the Bonfils firm, and a few by W. Hammerschmidt. The careful examination of these albums yields particular insight into the photographic practices of the men whose work comprises the bulk of the collection, Emile Béchard and Pascal Sebah. Further, by analyzing the specific contents and structure of each of the eight albums, and the interplay of text and image within the albums, we learn what the Brasseys chose to include in the presentation of the region they constructed through their albums. What kind of place was the Middle East, as it was presented in the albums? What do the Brasseys' selections tell us about how they saw the region? Why, for example, are there seven volumes of photographs of Egypt, only one of Turkey, and none at all from the Holy Land?

The particular character of the Brassey Middle East albums is more evident when those albums are compared with the others whose investigation forms the basis of Chapter 4. This analysis considers a series of albums of roughly the same dates as the Brassey albums, compiled by a variety of people in circumstances which were both similar to and different from those of the Brasseys. From a close reading of each album, in terms primarily of the arrangement and subject matter of the photographs, and the relationship between text and image, conclusions emerge about how each album compiler saw the region he or she sought to document through photographs. While each album is clearly a unique production, there are strong similarities among

them which must be related to their shared British identity, despite variations in class, gender, and profession among the album compilers, and significant differences in the purposes for which the albums were compiled and their intended audiences. This examination confirms some of what has been discussed in earlier work about how the Orient (the Middle East in this case) was perceived and constructed by the British in the second half of the nineteenth century, but at the same time it leads to a much more detailed and nuanced understanding of how those constructions were related to individual experience and identity within a larger British identity.

It is my assertion (shared of course by many other photo historians) that historical photographs are complex documents, whose interpretation is shifting and contingent. Yet it is their very instability as carriers of meaning which renders photographs such a valuable resource in the study of various social and political discourses. By looking at them as we will here, as the products of specific photographers working in a particular location, as images in larger photographic constructions, that is as part of a narrative sequence in an album, and as part of one woman's projects around education and empire, it is my intention to reveal the multi-layered constructedness of the image. The messages conveyed by the photograph, in which its subjects, its photographer, its purchaser, the album compiler, and subsequent viewers of the album are all implicated are not simple or stable. In their complexity and instability, the photographs are revealing of the complex nature of social discourse around issues of empire, imperialism, colonialism, class, and gender in Victorian England. They are a body of evidence so compelling that they must not be overlooked, despite the challenges involved in their study.

A final note. I have tried to be as precise as possible in my use of language. Throughout this work I have expressed myself in the first person, to make my authorial role clear. When words seem to need definition, I have provided it. I do not see a difference between a tourist, a traveler, and a visitor, in terms of the British in the Middle East in the second half of the nineteenth century, and so I have used those terms interchangeably. I have referred to Annie Brassey mostly by her title, Lady Brassey, not merely by her first or last name, because to do otherwise seems to me to overlook an important aspect of her identity in her own time. While this is not a technical history of photography, I have included details about photographic production when such information is available.

CHAPTER ONE

Annie Lady Brassey and Mid-Nineteenth-Century Photography

I have lived with Annie Brassey, off and on, for the last nine years. Working on this book I have read her five travel books, journal, and other writings and I have paged through the photograph albums again and again. During these nine years I have traveled, as she did, with my young children to distant places (although my travels were by plane not yacht). I have even had several serious bouts of bronchitis, cured with modern antibiotics not available to Annie Brassey, but leaving me with a powerful sense of how debilitating it would have been to live constantly with the fear or reality of the illness as she did. She had a dynamism and level of energy exceeding that of most people I know today, and I admire her fortitude and the diligence with which she pursued her goals. But an absolute familiarity with her eludes me, as it does anyone who would like to know a person from another time. I have never heard her speak, met her friends, seen her move, and – most regrettably – never been able to ask her questions. Some of what I would most like to know about her – did she enjoy the hectic pace of her life, or did she wish, as do many busy women today, to be able to slow down and savour each day as it passed; and why did she undertake to compile seventy enormous albums of photographs – I will never know for sure. As I think and write about her, it is a challenge to understand her particularity as a subject while giving due attention to the significance of the social, political, and economic contexts in which she lived.

Annie Lady Brassey was born Anna Allnutt outside of London on October 7, 1839; she died at sea from the illness which had long plagued her on September 14, 1887, at age 47 (Fig. 1.1). Married to Thomas Brassey, the heir of a wealthy industrialist, her life resembled those of her upper class contemporaries in many ways. Active in her husband's political career, mother of five children (one of whom died in infancy), manager of a large household and committed to her philanthropic activities, she lived her life within the bonds/bounds of social convention and duty. Yet without stepping over those boundaries, Annie Brassey traveled all over the world and published five extremely popular travel books, as a result of which she became famous, acquired enough ethnographic, botanical, geological, and archaeological artifacts to fill the private museum she founded, and organized approximately 6,000 photographs into seventy large albums. Despite her extensive travels and the fame she enjoyed during her lifetime, Annie Brassey

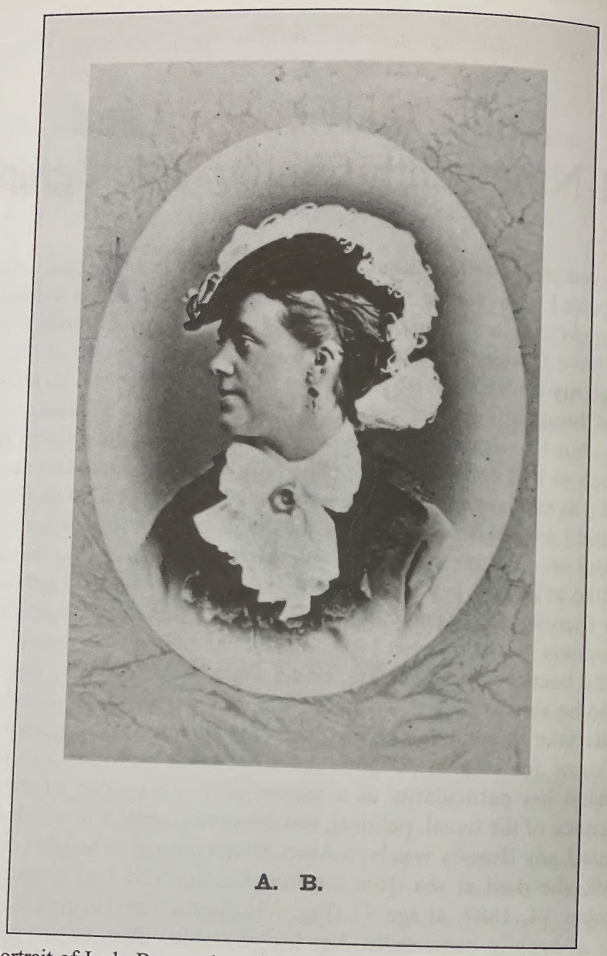


Fig. 1.1 Portrait of Lady Brassey by William Notman.

does not appear with the likes of Isabella Lucy Bird Bishop or Mary Kingsley in the ranks of intrepid women travelers of the Victorian era whose lives and accomplishments have recently begun to receive the attention they deserve.[1] Why not?

Travel literature as a genre of writing has long occupied an uncomfortable place in the study of literature, not quite autobiography, not ostensibly fiction (although some of course was actually fiction), not scientific writing.[2] Travel writing by women was apparently even more difficult to come to terms with. As Melman points out in her excellent 1992 work on English women in the

Middle East, women travelers and their writings have not been taken seriously either because they were written by "atypical" independent women (explorers, for example) or by mere amateurs (missionaries or spinsters).[3] Happily, recent interest in the discourses of gender, imperialism, and colonialism, as well as the emergence of a significant body of feminist scholarship in these areas, has led to a recognition of the importance of the writings of Victorian women travelers for such projects. While nearly all who have analyzed travel writing by women suggest that women's writing participated differently (or alternatively) in the various imperialist narratives produced in Victorian Britain, scholars' characterizations and explanation of that difference are not uniform.[4] What is clear is that looking at the work of women travel writers with a view to understanding their specific gendered narrative identities[5] can provide new insights into their interaction with hegemonic imperialist discourses and with the changing gender ideologies of Victorian Britain. Lady Brassey's writing, extremely widely read in her own day, participated in these discursive constructions of gender and imperialism. Her voice belongs with the pleasing and challenging cacophony of women's voices whose words are changing our understanding of their times.

Early in her travels, Annie Brassey developed the habit of writing long letters to her father about the family's activities. Her letters, in the form of her journal entries, were later lithographed and circulated among her friends, then privately printed in book form. *A Voyage in the "Sunbeam"*, her first commercial publication, appeared in 1878 when she was 39 years old and was an overnight sensation. Encouraged by the public response to her writing, she published two subsequent books, and at the time of her death was working on a third, which appeared posthumously. At some point soon after she began traveling, Lady Brassey must have decided to turn her interests in collecting and in photography into something more than the mere acquisition of souvenirs. She began to plan a private museum, collecting material for it in a systematic way and hiring assistants to help with the cataloguing of her collection of specimens and artifacts. Shown in several small exhibitions during her lifetime, her entire collection was eventually housed in the Brassey Museum which her husband opened in London after her death.

Included among the Brassey Museum exhibitions, in a space set aside for their viewing, were the seventy albums of photographs which had been assembled from the thousands of photographs purchased or made by Lady Brassey during the course of her travels. The photograph albums, today housed in the Huntington Library, with their uniform bindings and labeling, seem to have been intended from the outset as an integral part of the museum collection, providing a visual context for the objects carefully organized in the display cases.[6]

By the 1870s, when Lady Brassey began her extensive traveling and collecting, photographs were considered to be invaluable in the communication

of information. Indeed the initial announcement presenting Daguerre's process, in Paris in July 1839, forged the link between photography and fidelity of representation with its description of the new invention as "so exact and accurate a means of reproduction."[7] The popular perception that a photographic image was a truthful one was reinforced many times in the press. In 1858, photographs by Francis Frith received the following mention in an *Art Journal* review of the annual exhibition of the Photographic Society in London: "The real value of photography is, however, most strikingly shown in the production of F. Frith, jun. His subjects in Palestine and Egypt impress us with a consciousness of truth and power which no other Art-production could produce."[8] In an 1859 article entitled "On Some Requisites Necessary for the Production of a Good Photograph" which appeared in *Photographic News*, the author reiterates the connection between truth and photography: "the photographer is bound by simple truth – happily that is an important, if not the all important principle in representation, he [the photographer] can neither add anything to adorn his picture, nor remove anything that is offensive ... appearing as the exact transcript of nature."[9]

As visual documents, disseminators of information, photographic images reached a wide and diverse audience as the basis for illustrations in books, in photography exhibitions, and in public slide shows. Within a year of the announcement of Daguerre's invention, daguerreotypes were being used as the basis for engravings to illustrate books. One of the earliest such volumes was *Excursions Daguerriennes: Vues et monuments les Plus Remarquables du Globe*, published in 1841–42 and illustrated with 112 engravings made from daguerreotypes. In Britain, Fox Talbot's *The Pencil of Nature*, published serially from 1844 until 1846, presented a series of his calotypes in book form. In 1852, *Égypte, Nubie, Palestine et Syrie: Dessins Photographiques Recueillis Pendant les Années 1849, 1850 et 1851* by Maxime Du Camp appeared, the first book to be published in France containing actual photographs as illustrations. The value of photographic images in enhancing the appeal of travel literature was realized immediately. As photographic technology evolved, the interest of publishers and readers in books with illustrations based on photographs, or illustrated with actual photographs, continued to grow, as one author writes, "filtered through the nineteenth century's romantic fascination with the exotic and fuelled by its obsession with fact gathering."[10] The decade of the 1850s saw the publication of a number of major works in Britain and France focusing on the Middle East illustrated by the work of British and French photographers who had traveled to the region specifically in order to produce photographs for such publications.[11] These publications varied in scale and cost, and were often brought out in different editions, to allow readers at different economic levels access to this extremely popular genre. To cite only one example, Francis Bedford's photographs of the Middle East, taken to record the tour of

the Prince of Wales in the year 1862, were published in a lavish (and expensive) first edition, and shortly afterward in a smaller volume, with fewer illustrations, at a greatly reduced price.[12]

By the time that photographs (or illustrations derived from photographic images) were available to publishers, the reading public had long been accustomed to the ready availability of illustrated material.[13] Apart from the long tradition of books illustrated with engravings, the first half of the nineteenth century saw the emergence of a popular illustrated press. *The Penny Magazine*, illustrated with woodcuts, first appeared in 1832 in Britain and had a weekly circulation of 200,000. Published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and directed at a wide audience, the magazine particularly sought illustrations of subject matter outside of its readers' daily lives, such as images of distant places and exotic flora and fauna.[14] There were many such publications. To cite only one additional example, the continued popularity in this period of *The Illustrated London News*, which began publication in 1851, was based in large measure on its illustrations. The use of photographically based illustrations in such publications encouraged the widespread acceptance of those images as truthful, more accurate than the artist's sketches which photographs gradually replaced.

Illustrated books and periodicals were of course not the only venues where the public encountered photographs. The exhibition of members' work was one of the primary goals of the photographic societies which were founded in London and elsewhere to promote the new art medium. The newly formed Photographic Society in London held its first "Photographic Society Exhibition of Photographs and Daguerreotypes" in January 1854. From this point on, photographic exhibitions became common, with photographic societies holding annual exhibitions, as well as staging special exhibitions by individuals and groups of photographers. The number and variety of images displayed in the annual exhibitions was generally indicative of photographic production in this period: every possible area of subject matter was covered – landscape, still life, genre, portraiture, and travel photography – and photographic style was equally varied. Apart from photographic society exhibitions, photographs were also used in more didactic exhibition contexts, to augment artifacts on display in museums and in the world expositions which had such an important role in constructing public knowledge in the second half of the century. Photographs were also the primary subjects of more focused events, as for example when Roger Fenton's Crimean War photographs were exhibited in 1855, or when Bedford's photographs of the Middle Eastern tour of the Prince of Wales were shown in 1862. In these two examples, the role of the photograph in constructing the public understanding of specific places and events is particularly striking. Fenton was the only photographer of the Crimean War, and Bedford, as a result of his role as

photographer accompanying the Prince of Wales, was given access to sites in Jerusalem which had not been photographed before. In each case, their photographic images carried a compelling visual authority, bringing new information to viewers who already believed in the complete veracity of the photographic record.

Photographic images had a similar didactic purpose when they were used in public slide shows and lectures, often to illustrate lectures about missionary work or anthropological research. Raising money was an essential aspect of missionaries' work, and their home leave would have been occupied with lectures, illustrated with photographs of the people they hoped to convert or help, and pointing to their accomplishments to date, held for the purpose of soliciting money from the audience. After his return from several years in Asia the photographer John Thomson gave numerous lectures about the lands and people he had seen, illustrated with his own work.[15]

While photographs, whether as lantern slides, exhibited images, or illustrations, were valued at the time for their apparently simple and unmediated views of their subject matter, understanding their much more complex role in constructing and communicating information requires a recognition of their place in a network of photographic processes and cultural practices. The photographers who journeyed to the Middle East, to North America, to Africa and elsewhere to take photographs were carrying with them what one author has described as "pre-texts," images and expectations about what they would see, as well as "cultural determinations of what was memorable or worthy of recording."[16] The pre-texts of photographers working in the second half of the nineteenth century had been shaped in large part by the long tradition of illustrated travel literature that had served to construct a British understanding of distant places.[17] As commercial artists, they were also interested in producing images which would appeal to popular taste. In the case of the Middle East, commercial photographers were acutely aware of the enormously successful work of earlier Orientalist artists, especially David Roberts (1796–1864). The images they produced were thus affected by their pre-texts and their business acumen, as well as their varying degrees of familiarity and understanding of the region and people they photographed.

Photographs made by commercial practitioners fill the pages of Lady Brassey's albums, and serve as apparently straightforward presentations of information about various regions and people of the world. Yet each photograph functions as one unit of a larger visual construction. For example, Volume 28, page 34 of the Brassey albums (Fig. 1.2) shows a full-plate image signed by the German photographer W. Hammerschmidt and numbered 197 on the negative.[18] In the image two Egyptian men flank a donkey with two women squatting on the ground a short distance away. These figures arranged near the front of the picture plane stand before an enormous cactus which

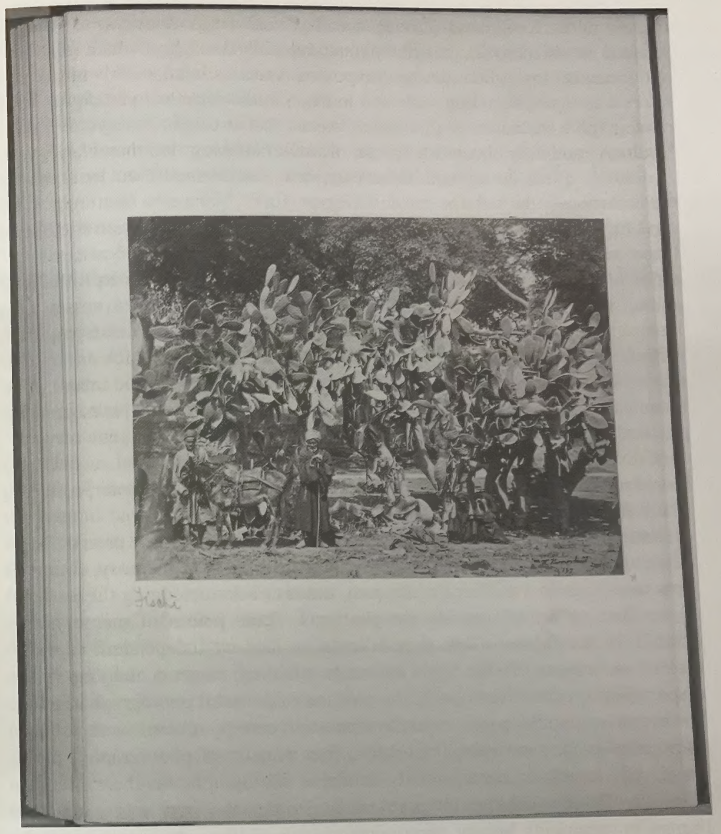


Fig. 1.2 Volume 28, Page 34.

almost dwarfs the figures. Visible above and behind the cactus is the foliage from other trees and a stone wall. The figures are looking directly at the viewer/photographer, and also directly into the sun, so that they are all squinting or shading their eyes. The fact that the negative was signed and numbered tells us first of all that it is a commercial product, one of Hammerschmidt's list of images marketed to tourists. He selected this view of the Egyptian landscape as one that would sell and composed it to produce this particular representation of it, with the cactus as the central image, literally since it is centered in the photograph but also conceptually since the

figures in the foreground provide a scale (much larger than human) and a cultural setting (Egypt). His photograph suggests that Egypt was a place of exotic vegetation, where the landscape dominates its inhabitants who are of interest as types, signaling scale and location, rather than as individuals. The photograph's inclusion in this album means that it caught the eye of Lady Brassey, probably because of its visually striking botanical subject. Eventually when the albums were compiled, she deemed it to be suitable for inclusion in the volume entitled "Egypt. Cairo," one of a few images of rural Egypt amidst views of the built city. The photograph, thus inserted in a larger visual construct, became part of a collection, with a fixed place in its serial organization and with a meaning in part determined by its situation among (and even in contrast to) those other images. It thus expresses the illustrative intentions of first the photographer, and second the collector. The scrawled pencil label reads "Fischi," an enigmatic reference which does little to provide information about the photograph. More than a simple image of a botanical subject, this photograph informs us about one artist's photographic practice, as well as illustrating the manner in which a photograph can serve to confirm and reinforce preconceived ideas about a place and a culture. Moreover, its presence in an album increases the complexity of interpretation which this single image calls forth.

Photographs mark a complex relationship between the past, present, and future. Any photograph is by its very existence a piece of memory, fixing a person or place in a moment of the past, but also acknowledging the present in the fleeting act of opening the shutter.[19] These pieces of memory are created for the future, where they take on an identity independent of their creator or subject. Today with amateurs wielding cameras ranging from disposables to expensive Nikons, the creation of personal photograph albums has become a popular pastime. In the nineteenth century albums were at least as popular as they are today, but in the first decades of photography, most people had to rely on commercially available photographs for their albums. Consequently their ability to represent and order the past was generally limited to organizing bought photographs in a book format.

The commercial photograph thus embodies a complex dichotomy, being at once a public document and a private mnemonic. Commercial photographers working in the Middle East produced an extensive selection of views in order to appeal to a wide consumer audience. Their photographs were purchased by people who then used them to construct a personal record, a memory of the place they had visited and the sights they had seen. But even the personal record, constructed on the basis of bought images, could take more than one shape. The public memories of a voyage or a time in one person's life, recounted while showing an album to an audience, were not necessarily the same memories that the photographs would yield when they were seen privately, when the person who compiled the album looked through it alone,

page by page. Far from being simple transparent "windows through which we look,"[20] photographs are instead complex objects, whose place in time is constantly shifting, and whose role in carrying meaning slips between the public and the private, and back again.

As elements in the construction of knowledge and in the creation of memory, how did commercial travel photographs shape public ideas? As they became more widely available, through the publication of illustrated travel literature, and especially the wide-scale sale of stereographs, viewing photographs of distant places came to serve as a substitute for travel. Visiting places which had been previously seen in photographs thus became an "act of confirmation" rather than an exploration of the unfamiliar.[21] Not only in the Middle East, but in North America, Africa, China, and India photographers created images for consumption by outsiders which informed their views of those places. These culturally constructed images became part of a shared set of ideas about what distant places looked like and who inhabited them.

In the first decades of photography most artists traveled to their foreign destinations, made photographs, and returned home to sell them. With the growth of tourism as well as the creation of local markets for photography in the second half of the nineteenth century, photographers began to establish businesses in large cities of the Middle East, India, and elsewhere. Generally European in origin, these commercial photographers often lived in the region for many years, or settled there permanently. Their conceptions and understanding of what they were photographing were thus somewhat different from those who had preceded them in the 1840s and early 1850s, and resulted in a more diverse and varied range of subject matter. While commercial photographers in the 1860s, 1870s, and 1880s continued to produce the stock images of desert landscape, Egyptian antiquities, and studio shot "street scenes" they also expanded their repertoire to photograph major new constructions and important local events. Tourists and local residents alike could purchase views of new apartment buildings, new religious structures, gardens, palaces, factories, trains, important religious festivals, and other noteworthy occasions, such as the visits of foreign dignitaries. Moreover, as the Turkish and Egyptian residents in Istanbul and Cairo, for example, began to visit the photographer's studio for portraits in much the same way as the local population of Britain, the commercial photographers had the opportunity to establish a relationship with their indigenous subjects which was very different from that of the earlier decades of photography. It is likely that this different relationship between subject and photographer in certain business contexts (subject employing photographer) affected the nature of the interaction between the photographer and his subjects in other contexts (photographer employing subjects).[22]

The extensive lists of stereo views marketed by firms such as Underwood and Underwood were obtained from a variety of sources, in some cases resident commercial photographers and in others itinerant photographers sent by the company to a region with a list of views to obtain. The role of the publisher, whether in marketing stereographs or choosing book illustrations, was crucial, since it was at that point that a selection of views was made. For those without the opportunity to travel, this selection determined what they "saw" and understood of the region. For others who did travel, their exposure to the commercially available images at home shaped their expectations of what they would see on their journey.

This paradigm which attributes to nineteenth-century travel photography the means of confirming ideas of empire and cultural identity is a useful one; however, the photographs themselves are not a homogenous body of evidence. As James Ryan notes, "the very abundance of information in photographs, invariably well in excess of that intended by the photographer, opens them to a multitude of uses and meanings."[23] Moreover, photographs were made by different people for reasons that are complex and varied. There was not just one set of pre-texts or one cultural agenda at work, but many gradations, and even some images which contested a dominant ideology of place or culture. Further, once the photographs left the shop of the photographer, selected to be published in a book or included in an album, they would acquire diverse interpretations, depending on the perspective of the editor or album compiler. Nor did interpretation end there: the modes of seeing their different viewers employed continued to shape the way photographs functioned to communicate information.

The Middle East, with its enigmatic ruins of ancient Egypt and Biblical sites, had long held a particular appeal for travelers. Yet the importance of the Middle East to Britain in the nineteenth century was not limited to its popularity as a travel destination by any means. Politics, economics, religion, and science all played a part in determining the way Britain regarded the Middle East in the second half of the nineteenth century.[24] For our purposes, there are three regions which are particularly important to consider: the Ottoman empire and particularly its capital, Istanbul,[25] the Holy Land, and Egypt. The Ottoman empire, although it retained its political independence, became increasingly entangled financially with Europe, especially after the establishment of the Public Debt Commission in 1879, which gave foreign powers[26] significant control over internal Ottoman economic affairs. Further, by the mid-nineteenth century Britain had developed important markets in the Ottoman empire for its manufactured goods and relied on the supply of raw materials from Ottoman lands for its factories. Britain vied with the other foreign powers for political influence at the Ottoman court, as each tried to shape Ottoman affairs in the way that best suited its own interests.

Similarly, European powers were involved in the Holy Land, or Palestine, but their interests there were not primarily economic. It is difficult, from the vantage point of the twenty-first century, to appreciate fully the ideological importance that the Holy Land held for nineteenth-century Christians. According to one of the many guidebooks written for those visiting the holy sites, whether in person or via photographs, "Wherever we go in this land today [Palestine] we find verification of the Bible narrative … these are divine object lessons intended to help us wake more fully to the truth of Bible records and the reality of Bible events."[27] Although most of the specific sites of Christian pilgrimage and the land itself were under the nominal control of the Ottomans, the foreign powers felt it incumbent upon themselves to guarantee their citizens free access to the sites which they considered as part of their religious heritage.[28] Not only was salvation dependent on a close familiarity with and understanding of the Bible, but Palestine itself existed, at least according to this author and the many others who wrote similarly, as part of a divine plan to allow Christians the opportunity to see what life in Biblical times was really like. This genre of guidebook is filled with passages exhorting the traveling reader to see the past in the present, even in small details: "That brown mantle with white stripes worn by so many, is the *abba*, the universal overcoat of the East. No doubt Abraham wore one just like it, and it was such a cloak that Paul left at Troas with his friend Carpus. (II. Timothy iv:13)."[29] While the actual inhabitants of Palestine were on the one hand rendered as historical types to the pilgrim determined to experience the land of the Bible, on the other, they were constructed as important subjects for missionary attention. Their understanding of Christianity, in the case of Arab Christians, was found inadequate, while Jews and Muslims were seen to be even more in need of religious aid. Muslims were protected against direct missionary activity by Ottoman law, but Jews were not. In any case, a great deal of missionary teaching went on in the schools and medical facilities that were established by the foreign powers in Jerusalem and elsewhere in Palestine.[30]

The British interest in Egypt was more directly tied to its own political agenda because of Egypt's strategic geographic position as the land link between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea through which the British traveled to their colonies in India and Africa. Napoleon's brief takeover of Egypt at the end of the eighteenth century sharpened the British preoccupation with Egypt and intensified their desire to establish themselves as the dominant European power in the area. Their close involvement in Egyptian affairs deepened even more after the British became the major financial backers of the construction of the Suez Canal. The short-lived Egyptian army revolt of 1882 provided the pretext for direct British military action, the bombardment of Alexandria, and the British domination of the Egyptian government. With its takeover of Egyptian affairs in 1882, Britain

began a 72-year occupation of Egypt. Inextricably bound up with Britain's imperial and economic interests, and after 1882 the site of a quasi-colonial administration with all of its attendant institutions, Egypt thus had a very different place in British public awareness from other parts of the Middle East. Moreover, Egypt was the site of significant scientific inquiry, in the form of archaeological and geographic exploration, the results of which were regularly reported in the press. The British and the French were competing against each other for the acquisition of antiquities from Egypt, and national pride played a large part in the interest which the general public took in the ongoing explorations. Besides the actual objects that filled the national museums, information gathered about Egypt also became part of the ongoing Victorian projects of education and fact-gathering, both objects and facts being used to construct knowledge, in the service of empire.

Amid the fast-changing technology of photographic representation and the accelerating imperialist ambitions that led to the British presence in the Middle East and elsewhere, Lady Brassey's albums provide a substantial record of one woman's desire to order, to document visually her world. In this study of her albums, events in Lady Brassey's life serve as guideposts, starting with the private publication of *A Cruise in the Eothen* in 1872 and ending with her death in 1887. This period coincides with the heyday of commercial photography aimed at travelers, who, beginning in the 1860s, purchased large numbers of albumen prints as souvenirs, in much the same way that tourists today buy postcards. The appearance of the first Kodak box camera in 1888 signaled the end of this era of photography, since these cameras allowed almost anyone with adequate means to take photographs without the expensive, cumbersome equipment required by earlier technologies. These decades also mark a certain period in Queen Victoria's reign when, despite events such as the Indian Mutiny of 1857, the government acted to consolidate its hold on the colonies, formalize the institutions of colonial life, and create a popular conception of imperialism at home. In examining how the photographs in the Brassey albums, and in the albums of other British travelers, illuminate the British construction of an Orient, the focus here will be on the Ottoman empire, specifically Egypt, the Holy Land, and what became present-day Turkey.

The term Orientalism has come to be used to describe scholarly, political, and cultural constructions of a geographic area ranging from North Africa to China. While Orientalism as a concept, first articulated in Edward Said's ground-breaking work of 1978, has been essential in shaping and focusing the analysis of discourses in a variety of disciplines historically and in the present, the word Orientalism as it is commonly used invites inaccuracies and generalizations. I prefer a much more focused, limited investigation of a specific period and place: how do the photographs they purchased and their albums reveal some British travelers' ideas about Egypt, the Holy Land, and

Turkey in the period from about 1860 to 1890? Whether it is useful or accurate to label these photographs as Orientalist is a question to which we will return at the end of this project.

Significantly, all of the photographs included in this study are contained in photograph albums. That is, each image is part of a larger collection assembled for the purpose of remembering a trip, documenting a period of time, or sharing a particular vision of a place. Each single photograph functions as one in a series, defined in some way as part of a narrative by virtue of its inclusion in the album. The already rich levels of meaning inherent in any photograph are increased substantially when an image takes on a specific part in a narrative, constructed by (one) person for a particular audience. The visual narrative presented in an album is accompanied by a literal narrative. In some cases this literal narrative is written directly on the album pages as text that identifies the subject or provides further details about the image. It may also have consisted of a spoken narrative which would have accompanied the showing of the album to an audience. Just as the meanings of a photograph are contingent upon the particular circumstances of its viewing, the literal narrative of a photograph album, whether written or spoken, changes as the album moves through time and space, acquiring new meanings as its surroundings change. In some examples, the presence of different hands writing in the album signals different narratives, but in the case of the oral narrative which would nearly always accompany any display of the album, we can only speculate about different versions.

The photograph album, as opposed to the individual photograph, is largely unexplored as a means of understanding how photographs were used to construct memories, ideas of place and of people.[31] Just as the individual photograph must be understood as a product of a cultural practice which involves the photographer, the subject(s), the consumer, the intended purpose of the image, and its audience, all functioning in a particular place and time, so too the album is a product involving an even longer list of participants: subject(s), photographer(s), consumer, album owner(s), annotator(s), and viewers. The album is generally constructed for a specific purpose, in the case of this study most often to document a voyage, a series of voyages, or a career. Thus photographs, hardly neutral images in the first place, are selected by a particular person, for a certain reason, with an audience in mind. All of this affects the way in which the photographs are used to convey meaning.

Ultimately our understanding of the role of photographs in this period will be greatly enhanced by embedding the photographs contained in albums in a wider study of the album contents and structure, the written text within each album, the life of the album's owner and the particular circumstances surrounding the construction of the album, and its intended audience. But in order to have a clear sense of the identity of one album, or set of albums, it is essential to have some basis of comparison. Thus my examination of the

Brassey Middle Eastern albums has taken place in the context of a wider study of albums containing photographs of the Middle East from the same period. Compiled in approximately the same years as Lady Brassey was writing and traveling, the albums I chose were assembled by other British visitors to the Middle East, some longtime residents, others passing through. Individual variations in the photographs chosen for inclusion and in other aspects of the albums combined with some overall similarities are revealing indices of how photographs functioned for British visitors to the Middle East to confirm a shared yet individualized vision of the region.

Reading photographs taken in another era, purchased and assembled into albums by people who lived in another century and another culture, is problematic. And as one photo historian has written, "perhaps most crucial to any reading of nineteenth-century photographs is an awareness at the outset of the late twentieth-century fondness for particular visions of the Victorian world."[32] In the context of this project, I suggest that it is not only our prejudicial visions of the Victorian world which are essential to acknowledge, but that even more important are the late twentieth-century visions of the Middle East of a century ago which shape our study of nineteenth-century photographs from that region.

When I began this project, my vision of the Middle East in the second half of the nineteenth century was of a region confronting modernity. As they sought to find a balance in their relations with Europe, Ottoman government and society were reshaping their legal system, their bureaucracy, their educational institutions, and their economy. But this conception, shared by many scholars of the nineteenth-century Middle East, is difficult to reconcile with the images of antiquity and traditional ethnic types that appear most often in published studies of nineteenth-century photographs. We know that Istanbul and Cairo, the major cities of the Ottoman empire, were the sites of extensive rebuilding in the second half of the nineteenth century, involving, for example, the construction of apartment buildings, palaces, banks, and gardens in the style of similar structures in Europe. Why do views of the modern cities appear so infrequently in published works on nineteenth-century photography? Why do we seldom see photographs of factories or modern shops in these collections? Photographs of these places certainly existed since scholars working on such topics as nineteenth-century industrialization and urban rebuilding have been able to find images to illustrate their books,[33] and similar images appear in unpublished collections.

As I conducted the research for this book, looking through thousands of unpublished photographs of the region, I was struck at the disparity between what I was seeing and what had been published. I believe that the vision of the nineteenth-century Middle East most often presented in recent publications of historical photographs is shaped by the late twentieth-century understanding of the Middle East. In this period, many outside of the

region still characterized the Middle East as conflict-ridden, poverty stricken, and backward. Modern cinema and the press often depict the Middle East as dominated by religious extremism, its inhabitants prey to terrorism, with confusing business practices and governments whose adherence to democratic principles is weak. Unfortunately, of the nineteenth-century photographs generally chosen for publication today, there is a preponderance of views of antiquities, harem women, idle men, and dilapidated buildings, which perpetuate stereotypes and do nothing to further contemporary understanding of this critically important region of the world.[34]

The eight Brassey albums illustrating the Middle East, with over 600 photographs, together with the other albums considered here, give a different view of the Middle East from that generally seen in modern publications. The ideas of nineteenth-century visitors to the region regarding the land and people of the Middle East had been formed by the pre-texts with which they traveled, shaped by travel literature, earlier paintings and photographs, and political events, as twentieth-century views have been similarly shaped. However, despite their positioning within the dominant political and cultural ideologies of Orientalism and imperialism, photographers of the Middle East and consumers of those images sought views which constructed a much more varied and interesting Middle East than the one we generally encounter on the pages of modern photo histories of the region. Examining the photographs chosen for each album, as well as the album's structure and the circumstances surrounding its production, provides an opportunity to see how nineteenth-century visitors assembled their visions of the region. Further, paging through numerous albums allows a more complete picture of the range of commercial photography to emerge. As much as possible, I would like to disentangle the nineteenth-century photographic production in the region from the twentieth-century presentation of that same production, in order to understand the nineteenth-century photographic constructions of the Middle East. The photographs in this study are examined as images produced by individual photographers, as images embedded in the narrative constructions of albums, and as images purchased by one British woman (or other consumers, in the case of the albums considered in Chapter 4). Their complexity, as objects and as images, demands their careful study from a variety of vantage points, if we are to understand how they functioned to communicate.

The Brassey collection, with its lavish albums and series of travel books, forms the core of this study. A search of family libraries and museum archives in Britain and elsewhere would probably turn up numerous examples of similar travel letters and manuscripts which are still unknown because they were not published, but only privately circulated. The same is certainly true of the photographs which often provided the illustrations used in travel literature. There are hundreds, perhaps thousands, of collections of photographs and albums assembled by travelers, missionaries, diplomats,

and military men on their voyages in the second half of the nineteenth century, stored in various museums, libraries, archives, and probably family attics, around the world. Unfortunately these collections often lack even basic information about the collector, date, and provenance so that cataloguing is difficult. Often they sit unsorted in the boxes in which they were first rediscovered. Collections of both travel literature and photographs for which information concerning the circumstances in which travel, writing, and the purchasing of images occurred are thus particularly valuable. The Brassey photograph albums are unusual not only because of their size and the number of images they contain, but also because the albums are still intact, they are in excellent condition, and their contents can be dated on the basis of information gleaned from Lady Brassey's books. In addition to basic facts about travel itineraries and dates of various trips, the books yield insight into the circumstances surrounding the acquisition of the photographs and the album owner's photographic practice, insight rarely available for the study of other photograph albums. Lady Brassey's books, together with her other writing, diaries, surviving museum collections in Hastings and Bexhill, and albums of press clippings, studied together as a collection provide an essential context for the photograph albums.

Considering her prominence in her own day, it is surprising that Lady Brassey and her various projects have received so little attention from scholars. Apart from passing mention in a few sources and a graduate thesis and related museum publication,[35] this book is the first to consider Lady Brassey's writings together with her photographic albums. It thus stands apart from the valuable works which have informed mine in that a single traveler is studied, not just with her writing but with her other cultural products as one example of how a Victorian woman interacted with the complex world in which she found herself.[36] A close reading of her books and her albums has a great deal to tell us about the place in which she lived, as a woman, as a wealthy British imperialist, as an amateur photographer, as a traveler, and as a collector. Additionally, foregrounding her albums, and those of others, as a primary focus of analysis allows an understanding of an essential aspect of photographic practice, impossible to retrieve through the consideration of separate, disparate images. Examining the photographic practices of these practitioners and consumers of "plain prose," as a contemporary writer described photography, is one way of approaching the complex interaction of cultures and people which characterized the nineteenth century.

Notes

1. See for example Melman, 1989 and 1992, Mills, 1991, and Morgan, 1993 and 1996 among many others.

2. Pratt, 1992, provides an excellent analysis of the genre of travel literature. See also Mills.
3. See Melman, 1992: 25–6.
4. In fact, uniform conclusions about such a diverse body of material would be suspect. This is not the place to undertake even a cursory review of the literature on this topic. There are numerous works listed in the bibliography which concern women's travel literature, many of which contain extensive bibliographies.
5. As numerous writers have noted, authorial identity is complex and shifting, involving considerations of social class, location, training or professional interests, specific historical period, as well as of course gender. Any analysis of women's travel writings must include an acknowledgment of the author's particular identity as well as the commonalties which may exist among writers of the same period, class, or gender.
6. Lady Brassey's museum, no longer extant in its original location, is discussed in more detail in Chapters 2 and 3.
7. Partially quoted in Howe, 1993: 22; the full text of François Arago's speech to the French Chamber of Deputies is available in numerous photo historical works.
8. *Art Journal*, April 1, 1858, p. 121. Quoted in Baldwin, 1996: 53–4.
9. *Photographic News*, 1859, p. 308. Quoted in Edwards, 1990: 237.
10. From Schwartz, 1996, an excellent analysis of the relationship between photography, travel, and geography in the mid-nineteenth century.
11. Some of these publications include: *Égypte et Nubie. Sites et Monuments les Plus Intéressants pour l'Étude de l'Art et de l'Histoire, Atlas Photographié, Accompagné de Plans et d'une Table Explicatif Servant de Complément à la Grande Description de l'Égypt par Felix Teynard, Ingénieur Civil*, 1858; Francis Frith's two-volume *Egypt and Palestine Photographed and Described by Francis Frith*, 1858–60; *Le Nil, Monuments, Paysages Photographiques par J.B. Greene*, 1854; *Voyage en Orient* in six volumes, by Louis De Clerq, 1859–60; *Jérusalem: Études et reproductions de la Ville Sainte depuis l'époque judaique jusqu'à nos jours*, by August Salzman, 1856; and *Palestine as It Is: In a Series of Photographic Views by the Rev. George W. Bridges, Illustrating the Bible*, 1858.
12. See Chapter 4 for details of the Bedford publications.
13. While similar developments in the emergence of a popular illustrated press could no doubt be traced in America and France, the following discussion is confined to Britain, since the balance of this project concerns the photographic collections of British travelers.
14. *The Penny Magazine* is discussed in the context of pictorial antecedents to the stereograph in Earle, 1979.
15. For information about Thomson's career and work, see White, 1985 and Prasch, 1996.
16. Schwartz, 1996: 29.
17. The scholarship on the study of pre-1850 travel literature is extensive. A good place to start is with Barbara Stafford's ground-breaking 1984 work, *Voyage into Substance: Art, Science, Nature and the Illustrated Travel Account, 1760–1890*.
18. It was common practice among the commercial photographers of the Middle East to sign, number, and sometimes label their images on the glass negatives, so that all prints made from that negative would be identified as their work. The fact that negatives could be subsequently sold, signed by their new owners, and then printed with two signatures indicates the confusing nature of the commercial photography business at this time. Labeling practices are discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

19. The role of photography in creating, shaping, or even acting to destroy memory has received a great deal of attention in recent work. While it is impossible to mention everything which concerns this subject, some particularly important work includes Barthes, *Camera Lucida*; M. Hirsch, *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative and Postmemory*; Keenan's brief article, "On the Relationship between Personal Photographs and Individual Memory"; Kuhn's short piece, "Remembrance"; and Sontag, *On Photography*.
20. Hurlbut, 1900: 2.
21. "Act of confirmation" is Joan Schwartz's expression, from her "Geography Lesson," p. 33.
22. While the role of the subjects in nineteenth-century Middle Eastern photographs is not the focus of this study, it is important to acknowledge that they were not merely silent subjects, but people whose interaction with the photographer and with the images in whose production they participated affected that production.
23. James Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire*, 1997, p. 221.
24 It is essential to realize that the term "Middle East" is merely a convenient way to refer to an area which is geographically, culturally, linguistically, and historically very diverse. Since these differences obviously affected the nature of the interaction between individual empires or regions and Britain, any consideration of the relationship between Britain and the "Middle East" must be grounded in an examination of the specific circumstances of the region if it is to be useful. The relationship between Britain and the Qajar empire in Iran, for example, was very different from the much more involved and multifaceted contact between Britain and the Ottoman empire. And even within the Ottoman empire, there were significant differences. North Africa, while nominally under the control of the Ottomans for part of the century, was in fact already in the political and cultural orbit of France. In terms of tourism, neither Iran or North Africa were generally included in the voyages of those visiting Egypt, the Holy Land, or Constantinople, the most popular tourist destinations in the region.
25. While the geographical boundaries of the Ottoman empire extended far beyond Istanbul, from the point of view of British diplomacy and economic interests, which were primarily negotiated with the court, Istanbul was the most important city within the empire, as well as home to the largest British diplomatic and commercial presence in the region.
26. The Public Debt Commission, a separate body from the Ottoman Ministry of Finance, had one representative each from Britain, Austria-Hungary, Italy, France, Germany, and the Netherlands, as well as one from the Ottoman empire and one member who represented the major bankers of the city.
27. From Jesse Hurlbut, *Travelling in the Holy Land through the Stereoscope*, 1900: 24–5.
28. The growing role of the foreign powers in Palestine developed gradually through the nineteenth century. As a result of various treaty negotiations, known as capitulations, the Ottoman government was forced to allow foreign residents, which came to include Christians and Jews of any nationality, to live under the legal protection of European consular representatives. As more and more foreigners visited, and resided temporarily, in Palestine, the role of the European consuls grew. European missionary activity, which mostly took the form of founding schools and hospitals, also strengthened the European presence in the region. With the construction of schools, hospitals, other charitable institutions, and all of the businesses associated with the burgeoning tourist trade, Europeans

became major employers of Ottoman subjects, further changing the balance of power and influence in the region.
29. Hurlbut, 1900: 13.
30. The activities of the foreign missionaries are discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, where specific bibliographic references are provided.
31. The photograph album as an object of study is considered more fully in Chapter 4.
32. Green-Lewis, 1996: 15.
33. To cite only two examples, see *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City*, by Zeynep Çelik, and of Donald Quataert's numerous works, *Social Disintegration and Popular Resistance in the Ottoman Empire, 1881–1908*.
34. Please see Chapter 3 for a more detailed critique of recent publications in the area of Middle East photo history.
35. *Annie, Lady Brassey, 1839–1887: Victorian Traveller, Collector and Writer*, written by Julian Porter in 1996 to accompany the Brassey material on exhibit at the Bexhill Museum, Bexhill-on-Sea, East Sussex, England. Not surprisingly, while providing an overview of Lady Brassey's life, the focus of this publication is on the Brassey museum collections, especially the geological collection which is now housed in the Bexhill Museum.
36. A 1982 publication, *Caroline Sturgis Tappan and the Grand Tour: A Collection of 19th Century Photographs* by George Dimock, also looks at one woman's photographic collection in the context of her travels. However, the brief exhibition catalogue format unfortunately prevents the serious analysis of the material.

CHAPTER TWO

Annie Lady Brassey

> We were admiring the handsome dress of a Jewess, who was also regarding us attentively, when suddenly she went into her house and returned immediately with all her family, saying, in French, "You like to look at us, we like to look at you. You're quite as strange to us as we are to you." I thought it very sensible of her, and we had a long chat, in the course of which she and her friends evinced the greatest interest in knowing exactly what we had been doing and where we had been going.
>
> from Annie Brassey's journal, Feb. 24, 1880

Despite intriguing statements like this one, describing an encounter in Constantine, Algeria, and giving us a sense of her ideas about travel, there are frustratingly few sources from which to draw an outline of Annie Brassey's life, and it is even more difficult to get a complete sense of how her daily life unfolded or what she was like as a person. This seems strange, considering that she published five books and several articles, which cover the time span of most of her adult life and describe the travels of herself, her husband, and her four children. Her books began as daily accounts of the family's activities written to be sent home to her father, and then circulated among other close friends, and in that form they sometimes contained more personal information than do the edited versions which appeared in print. The books and journals offer a picture of the Brasseys' shipboard life, and certainly the reader understands the chaotic pace of sightseeing, visiting, and traveling which occupied the Brasseys in the places they visited. Feelings and opinions on personal matters are harder to pull out of the texts, and of course the books provide virtually no information about the majority of Lady Brassey's life, living on land in England.

In addition to the books written by Lady Brassey, other useful sources include the entries for Lady Brassey and her husband in the *Dictionary of National Bibliography*, articles about the family from the local press, a book entitled *Voyages and Travels of Lord Brassey, K.C.B., D.C.L., From 1862–1895*, written by a friend, Captain S. Eardley-Wilmont, and a long entry on Lady Brassey in the 1883 book, *Celebrated Women Travellers of the Nineteenth Century*. *The Last Voyage* begins with a preface by Lord Brassey which contains a succinct account of Lady Brassey's life, written within the month that she died. Lord Brassey also published numerous works about his own life, but these are primarily vehicles for the expression of his political opinions, not accounts of his daily life. Both the Hastings Public Library and the Hastings Museum have files of newspaper clippings about the Brassey

family and their activities, and the Hastings Library also has several files of ephemera about the family, as well as copies of Lady Brassey's shipboard journals for the years 1880–83. A 1984 reprint of Lady Brassey's bestseller, *A Voyage in the Sunbeam*, contains a brief introduction about her, and a booklet to accompany an exhibition of Brassey material in the Bexhill Museum in 1996 provides a short account of her life.

I believe that it is worthwhile taking the time to sift through this diverse material to examine Annie Brassey's life and projects in as much detail as the sources allow. The construct of "The Victorian Woman" or "Victorian Women" has played a significant part in perceptions of the Victorian period from that time until the present day, being invoked in the examination of a wide range of social, cultural, and political phenomena. As is the case with most constructs, the details of the exact identity of the Victorian woman have shifted considerably over time. In the last two decades there has been a great deal of new research, much of it outstanding, examining various aspects of Victorian women's lives and their contributions, in diverse fields, to their world. In this context one author notes,

> I highlight actual women rather than the discursive Woman because I believe that research in women's writing and women's history needs to stay (as it were) grounded. In the richness of contemporary theorizing, we have honed and reconfigured methods of interpretation and brought new analytic tools to our research. But as we dig deeply into literary and cultural history . . . we should not forget the women and their individual stories.[1]

Annie Brassey's story, of a wealthy British woman traveler, writer, collector, and photographer, has much to tell us about how some women in her time engaged with the social and political structures they encountered, claiming a significant place in the public arena.

The outlines of Lady Brassey's life describe an existence like that of many an upper class woman in this period. She was an only child, born Anna Allnutt, on October 7, 1839, whose mother, Elizabeth Harriet Allnutt, died when Annie was a baby. She lived as a young child with her grandfather, John Allnutt, in the country and moved to London later, where she was educated by a governess. At the age of 21 she married Thomas Brassey, the son of Thomas Brassey Sr, a wealthy railroad developer. Thomas Brassey (later Earl Brassey) says of himself that at the date of his marriage, he had not yet chosen a career.[2] He eventually went into politics, serving as a Member of Parliament for Hastings, and later holding office in the Admiralty for five years. Lady Brassey's life was shaped to a large extent by her husband's decision to enter politics. She participated in his election campaigns, managed their extensive and complicated households, and entertained a wide variety of people. At the same time, she pursued her own interests: she was an enthusiastic amateur photographer, and an extremely devoted patron of the St

John Ambulance Association. The Brasseys had five children, one of whom died in childhood. Annie Brassey died at sea in 1887, at the age of 47.

This brief outline would suggest a fairly conventional life as wife and mother, yet Lady Brassey gained considerable fame – unusual for a woman in her day – as an intrepid voyager and travel writer whose works, though not originally intended for publication, were known and admired by vast numbers. An 1889 article in the *Queen* stated,

> it may reasonably be doubted if any other lady has ever traversed such a large portion of the habitable globe as was accomplished by Lady Brassey, and not only traversed it, but done so under such favorable conditions that the journeys became not merely a hurried scamper, but an intimate study of the countries visited, and this not only under their most prominent aspects, but also in other ways less generally striking. Lady Brassey, it is well known (and her books attest it) possessed an intelligence of a high order, a finished education, an inquiring mind, and rare gifts of perception. Artistic in her tastes, she was well read in science and natural history.[3]

Even making allowances for hyperbole on the part of this author, Lady Brassey clearly distinguished herself during her lifetime, and achieved a great deal of recognition for her accomplishments. Her first book to be commercially published, *A Voyage in the "Sunbeam"*, was an immediate success, going into eight editions in its first two years, and being translated into numerous languages. Yet, she did not intend to become either a world traveler, or a famous writer. Rather, as Fig. 2.1 confirms, and as her husband later recalled:

> The books grew out of a habit, early adopted when on her travels, of sitting up in bed as soon as she awoke in the morning, in her dressing jacket, and writing with pencil and paper an unpretending narrative of the previous day's proceedings, to be sent home to her father. The written letter grew into the lithographed journal, and the latter into the printed book, at first prepared for private circulation, and finally, on completion of our voyage round the world, for publication. The favourable reception of the first book was wholly unexpected by the writer. She awoke and found herself famous.[4]

Lady Brassey continued on the path on which she inadvertently found herself, writing three subsequent books, traveling extensively, collecting objects and specimens for the private museum she planned, and interesting herself in the affairs of the British people she met all over the world. She was keenly involved in what went on around her and had the rare opportunity to encounter more of the world than most other women of her class and era could do.

Although it is impossible to understand completely how a person's life takes the shape that it does, certain people and events in Lady Brassey's life were clearly particularly significant. First of all, her husband was an avid sailor. He owned yachts for all of his adult life, and was an extremely accomplished seaman, being the first private yachtsman to earn a master

Fig. 2.1 *A Voyage in the "Sunbeam"*, 423.

mariner certificate. His political interests dovetailed with his love of the sea, and he concerned himself with naval matters of all kinds, particularly reforms in naval administration and maritime policy. He served as Civil Lord of the Admiralty for four years, and as Parliamentary Secretary of the Admiralty, in Gladstone's government. In 1886 he founded a publication entitled *Brassey's Naval Annual*, which was described in 1927 as the "most authoritative survey of naval affairs throughout the world."[5] Lady Brassey was apparently not much of a sailor at the time of their marriage and was always prey to seasickness, but she became an enthusiastic and knowledgeable yachtswoman in the course of her married life, years of which were spent aboard their ship, the *Sunbeam*.

While the Brasseys' devotion to sailing may have come initially from Lord Brassey's enthusiasm, the timing and routes of their journeys were in large part determined by the need to be away from England in the winter months,

because of Lady Brassey's weak lungs and tendency towards bronchitis. Lord Brassey wrote that his wife had an inherited weakness of the chest, a failing which had earlier claimed the life of her mother.[6] In 1869 at age 30, Lady Brassey caught malaria in Syria and for the rest of her life had recurring attacks of fever. Although she seldom referred to illness in her books, it is clear that her illnesses were often very debilitating but that she did not intend to be unduly constrained by them. However, from time to time in her journals, there are indications of the extent to which her life and that of her family was organized around her poor health.

> January 18, 1882: All too soon it was time for the steam launch to return, taking Maud Robinson, Mr. Potter, and dear Mabelle back to the shore. It is a terrible necessity to have to leave half one's heart, half one's family, and most of one's interests in dear Old England year after year, and to be condemned for the sake of one's health to a banishment of three months however much kind friends may do to make one happy, and however far a lovely climate may help to make the exile tolerable.

> February 18, 1883, along the Nile: It was a deliciously hot day, and I felt perfectly well. No one who has not suffered from an affection of the lungs or throat can know what that expression means, or can appreciate the luxury of breathing without conscious effort, and without being painfully reminded of your infirmity by each respiration. It is a long way to come to attain such bliss, but the result is worth the effort.

She also suffered very much from seasickness, and it is often difficult to know whether she was laid low by fever or seasickness, but in any case her response was the same: "It was no good thinking about it, for there was much to be done."[7] Her ongoing battle with seasickness, as well as her attitude towards it is described accurately here,

> Many of the sailors and servants were ill. I was hopelessly so. Nothing annoys me more than to find that, after sailing tens and tens of thousands of miles, I cannot cure myself of sea-sickness. I can stand a good deal more rolling than I once could; but still, many are the days when nothing but the firmest determination not to think about it, but to find something to do, and to do it with all my might, keeps me on my feet at all. Fewer, happily, are the days when struggling is of no avail, when I am utterly and hopelessly incapacitated, ignominiously and literally laid flat on my back, and when no effort of will can enable me to do what I most wish to accomplish.[8]

Although Lady Brassey occasionally proclaimed herself cured of seasickness, in fact it plagued her throughout her life at sea, at times to a very severe extent. Lady Brassey's refusal to give in to her own physical infirmities seems to reflect her attitude about illness generally, as we learn when she mentions an illness of her husband's: "Tom is still unwell; but I think it is better that he should be obliged to exert himself on deck, instead of remaining in his cabin."[9]

If poor health had a large part in shaping Lady Brassey's adult life, her sense of duty and obligation to those less fortunate than she had at least an equal share. A strongly religious woman, she was secure in her God-given place in the world, and did not question the social order. Much of the motivation attributed to her by her husband, and also evident in her writing, for the museum she planned as well as for her extensive exploration in the places she visited, was for the education and improvement of those who did not have her opportunities to travel. Similarly, her involvement with the St John Ambulance Association stemmed from a desire to address the dreadful state of rural emergency medicine in Britain and elsewhere. She also carried out the more typical round of visits to the sick, holiday entertainments for poor children, and similar activities which were expected of upper class Victorian women. While Lady Brassey did not contest the dominant class ideologies of her day, she distinguished herself even by Victorian standards for her sense of duty and her accomplishments in different social arenas.

As a woman heavily involved in politics, Lady Brassey had no hesitation about expressing her own political opinions, particularly in contexts in which there was a direct connection to Britain. Her narrative of social events and visits to monuments in India is interspersed with political commentary, as in the following analysis written following a two-day stay in a palace in a "native state":

> It would have lightened our burdens greatly if the internal government of India could have been left under native princes. Such an alternative, unfortunately, was not open to us. The native rulers would have proved for the most part incapable of the task. ... The trade with England depends on the peace which we have been instrumental in preserving.[10]

Married to a career politician and daughter-in-law of a business tycoon whose fortune was earned through the construction of railroads all over the newly solidified lands of the empire, Lady Brassey was apparently at ease with much of British imperialism. Her husband credits her with "too much intelligence not to form a judgment of her own on political issues," although he goes on in the next sentence to say that "Her sympathies were instinctively on the side of the people."[11] Sympathy of course was an essential component of femininity as it was constructed by the Victorians, and it is interesting to note that Lord Brassey considers his wife's political opinions to be instinctive (instinct being another feminine attribute) rather than reasoned. In any case, Lady Brassey's writing reveals little, if any, of the narrative distancing from the conventions of British imperialism as it is inscribed by male writers which has been noted in the work of some women of this period.[12]

Lady Brassey led a wealthy and privileged life, but she was not free from the constraints of gender ideologies which characterized Victorian society

during her lifetime. While those constraints may not have been particularly limiting in her case, thanks in large part to her class, wealth, and incredible energy, they did shape her accomplishments. However, she did not acknowledge (publicly at any rate) any sense of gender boundary, responding negatively to an interviewer who asked her if she supported women's suffrage, "I thought women already did govern the world, more or less, whereas if we had votes, we should probably not have nearly as much power as we now possess without any undue fuss being made of it."[13]

Nor is it possible to trace a strong sense of feminine solidarity in Lady Brassey's writing about the women she meets around the world. Apart from casual contact with women she meets in passing, such as the Jewish Algerian quoted at the beginning of this chapter, her social interaction took place primarily among the women of the elite. With few exceptions, she saw these women as clearly different from herself, as this passage from her journal describing a visit to an Egyptian princess, sister of the Khedive, indicates: "A visit to a hareem always interests me and as a rule I leave it with a feeling of profound pity for the generally objectless and uneventful lives of the inmates."[14] The "women's point of view" claimed (unconvincingly) on behalf of Victorian women travelers by some present-day scholars does not appear in Lady Brassey's attitudes towards the women she meets.[15] Despite the lack of an explicit feminist agenda in her writing, she produces a gendered narrative of her travels, as our examination of her writing will reveal.

Lady Brassey was educated at home, by a governess, and thus did not have the intellectual opportunities that many women take for granted today. According to her books and journals, the strongest interests in her life (apart from contemporary politics) were botany, about which she was very knowledgeable, and the fledgling practice of emergency medicine, which she did a great deal to promote through her work on behalf of the St John Ambulance Association.[16] But apart from these, she read widely and seriously in many areas that included history, archaeology, geography, and literature. It was her travels and writing which gave her the opportunity to explore a much wider range of subjects than she might otherwise have pursued. Life on board the *Sunbeam* provided ample opportunity to continue both her language studies (she learned to read German, French, and Latin with her governess) and her botanical work. An indication of her lifelong interest in botany is provided by the following passage, describing a day in Jamaica:

> After our long ride, a little repose in the comfortable hammocks slung outside in the veranda would have been very comfortable; but "to horse, to horse!" was the cry. We were bound to pay a visit to the far-famed Fern Walk, which I have longed to see for the last thirty years – ever since, as a child, a dear old friend used to send me ferns from it, to take

> to the British Museum to be named and classified. I could hardly believe that at last my wishes were about to be realised, and that I should really see the dry skeletons of the past clothed in all their living beauty, and growing in their natural dwelling-place.[17]

Her botanical knowledge is expressed in her writing, in her accounts of the numerous botanical gardens which she visited all over the world and in descriptions of the unusual plants she encountered. For example, while sailing in the Atlantic between the Bahamas and Bermuda, the *Sunbeam* passed through a virtual sea of seaweed.[18] Lady Brassey's retelling of their investigation of the unusual variety and quantity of the plant takes up three pages, and provides a good sense of the curiosity with which she approached any aspect of the plant world. Following are some excerpts from her account:

> All through yesterday and today we have been passing through great quantities of sargasso-weed; ... We got a good deal on board with boat-hooks and nets, and found that the specimens which we had collected comprised four distinct varieties ... The delicate rare work of the flustra covered the stems and berries in some cases so completely that they looked almost like incipient corals ... I had not a good book on sea-weed to refer to, but we came to the conclusion that two of the specimens were undoubtedly *Sargassum baciferum* and *Sargassum vulgare* respectively; while to the others, which we could not recognise, we gave names of our own for the moment, to distinguish them, according to their style of growth ... I dried and bottled a great many specimens for further scientific investigation on my return, and was rather amused to find that my example had been largely followed by everyone on board; so that when both the cook and the head-steward were asked by one of the children for "Please, one more bottle," they both replied, "Bottles, Miss! why everybody in the ship has been bottling up that weed stuff, and there is not a single empty bottle left on board!"[19]

Lady Brassey also collected live specimens to bring back to England. In Canton in 1877, she borrowed a boat to collect euphorbia and some banyan trees. Proud of her success, she wrote, "I believe they are the first that have ever reached England alive and have flourished."[20]

In the many botanical gardens that she visited, Lady Brassey sought to improve her knowledge of botany by interviewing the gardeners and experts whom she met. In Trinidad she spent three hours with the curator of the Botanic Gardens there, and gave a full account of the plants which impressed her, as well as appending a full list of the plants he mentioned. The impact of the knowledge that she gained from her morning's work is reflected in the comment she made after visiting another site on the island later in the day:

> We were able to appreciate much better the beauty and interest of the fresh forms of vegetation that met our view, owing to Mr. Prestoe's lucid explanations and instruction of this morning; and it was pleasant to be able to make more intelligent remarks respecting them than it had hitherto been in our power to do, and to refer to some of the trees, shrubs,

> and creepers which we were continually passing by their proper names, instead of being limited to such remarks as, "Oh, look at that lovely yellow orchid; or that brilliant red plant! Did you ever see such a strange thing? What can that brown and yellow flower be?" – and so forth.[21]

For upper and middle class Victorian women, the study of botany had long been an acceptable pursuit. Although their contributions comprised an important part of the emerging science, their access to mainstream botanical societies and publishing opportunities were limited.[22] The role of the British traveler, male or female, in adding to the national store of knowledge in the natural sciences, and the inextricable connections between these sciences, particularly botany, and Britain's imperial enterprises in this period is well established.[23] That Annie Brassey was very much a part of the circle of amateur women botanists is indicated by her own writing, as well as by her offhand reference to her "friend," Miss Marianne North.[24] North, who was arguably the best-known botanical painter in late Victorian England, and who traveled even more extensively than Lady Brassey, grew up in Hastings, living as an adult with her father, who shared a political career as Member of Parliament for Hastings with Lady Brassey's husband. The two families were well acquainted.[25]

Marianne North combined a serious knowledge of botany with the similarly socially acceptable female arts of sketching and painting. This combination was a common one in the late Victorian period, allowing women to participate in the expanding field of botany, while continuing to uphold their domestic responsibilities.[26] In some cases, women could even earn money (or fame, in North's case) through their work as botanical illustrators. Women were also attracted to the new technology of photography, which in its earliest stages in Britain was controlled to a great extent by Fox Talbot, another member of the British botanical scene. In his own photographic work, he quickly realized the potential value of photography for the documentation of plant life, and shared his ideas and early photographs with numerous botanists, both in Britain and elsewhere.[27] While photography did not necessarily supplant drawing as a means of communicating detailed botanical information, it did become an important tool for botanists. Lady Brassey's albums, for example, contain numerous photographs of interesting or exotic plants, as well as the botanical gardens that she visited all over the world.

Information in Lady Brassey's books, which document her life at sea from 1872 until her death in 1887 make it clear that she was interested in photography from the very first of her voyages. With the exception of *Trades and Tropics*, all of her books include numerous references to taking, developing, printing, or purchasing photographs. Among the family memorabilia in Hastings is an album of carte-de-visite photographs which dates from the early 1860s, indicating some degree of interest in photography

from that date. Lady Brassey was a member of the Royal Photographic Society, and exhibited three photographs in their 1882 exhibition.[28]

We can get some idea of her skill as a photographer by looking at the photographs in the albums which are almost certainly her work,[29] although it is not as easy as one might imagine to identify her images, since other people traveling on the *Sunbeam* were also taking photographs which apparently ended up in the photograph albums. Many of the photographs in *Eothen* and in Volume 21 which are most probably Lady Brassey's work are extremely undistinguished, and sometimes very poor indeed. Figure 2.2, for example, is one of a series she took of carriages. Although the carriage is the main point of the photograph, it is not centered, and the horse's head is out of the picture. The other two photographs of carriages which appear in *Eothen* are similarly

CALECHE OR HANSOM OF QUEBEC
SEPTEMBER, 1872.

Fig. 2.2 *Eothen*, facing page 20.

composed, with either the rear wheels or part of the horse's body, or both, out of the picture. Most of her photographs from this period are slightly out of focus. Her work in Volume 62 (the album which contains photographs of Turkey), which served as the basis for twelve illustrations in *Sunshine and Storm*, which dates from a decade or more later, shows considerable improvement, particularly in terms of its technical qualities. In Figs 2.3 and 2.4, two album pages from Volume 62, Lady Brassey is working in different

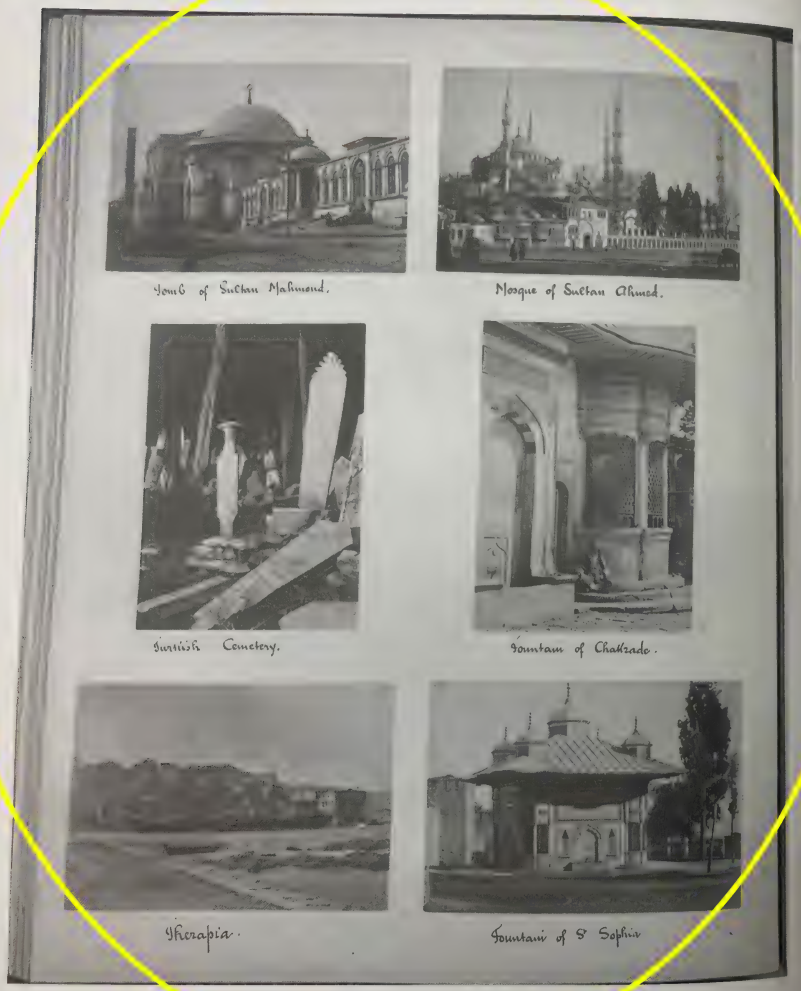


Fig. 2.3 Volume 62, page 8.

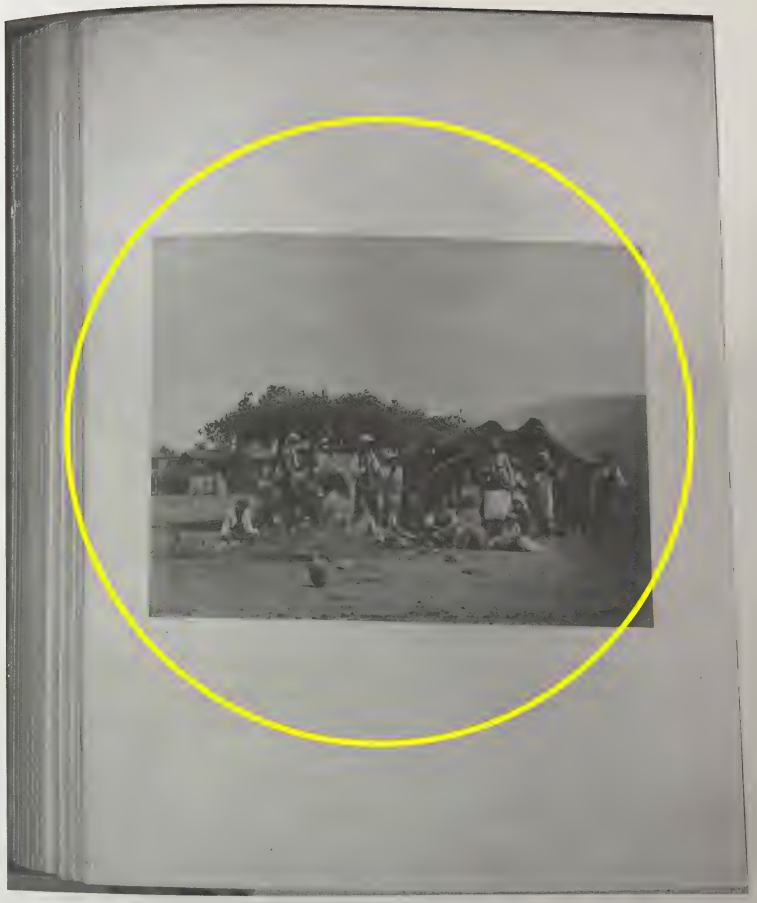


Fig. 2.4 Volume 62, page 42.

sized formats, photographing architecture, landscape, and people, and producing images which are sharply focused and have good tonal range.

An examination of the photographs in the albums which can be tentatively identified as her work show her images to be of enormous interest, as a visual document of the places she visited, and as an indication of what she found it worthwhile to record. However, it also reveals that her work as a photographer does not necessarily merit the addition of her name to the ranks of distinguished women photographers of her time, welcome as such an addition might be.[30]

Botany and photography were not the only interests Lady Brassey pursued, especially while traveling. The children were expected to undertake serious studies, which she oversaw. Both she and her husband read extensively, and indeed, enjoyed the opportunity for reading which the long days at sea afforded them. They packed a sizable library to accompany them, as she wrote while on their round the world voyage: "Tom and I are endeavoring to make the best use of it [time] by getting through as many of the seven hundred volumes we brought with us as possible."[31]

Much of her reading concerned the places that they were visiting or were planning to visit. In her journal of 1883, Lady Brassey describes the reading she undertook before their trip on the Nile to visit the monuments of ancient Egypt, explaining that, "To go to see them without knowing more than I do at present would be neither pleasant nor profitable."

In her books, Lady Brassey often recounts information which she has been reading, as when they were leaving Ceylon in 1877. After a three-page discussion of interesting places in Ceylon which one might wish to visit, she writes,

> I have not been able to keep my mind from running incessantly on Sir Emerson Tennent's delightful book on Ceylon, which describes places we have not ourselves visited, but which I wanted very much to see, and I have been so interested in reading about them that I cannot help thinking other people will share my feelings.[32]

Here one has a clear sense of not only what interested her as a reader, but also as a writer, keen to communicate her experiences and observations with other readers.

Lady Brassey as a traveler

Right from the start of their married life, the Brasseys spent a great deal of time on the sea, and yet it is a difficult matter to establish an accurate chronology of their voyages (see Table 2.1). Lady Brassey's books provide the bare bones of such a chronology, and she makes occasional references in her writing to trips other than the ones she is recording, but there are numerous trips for which there is apparently no published record. Other useful information about when and where the Brasseys traveled is found in Eardley-Wilmont's book, *Voyages and Travels of Lord Brassey*. Lord Brassey sailed to the Baltic Sea in 1860, the year of their marriage, but it is unclear whether Lady Brassey accompanied him. They went to Algeria in 1862, to Holland in 1863, in 1866 to the Baltic Sea and St Petersburg, and to Egypt in 1869 for the opening of the Suez Canal. From Egypt the Brasseys traveled in the Holy Land and Syria, where Mrs Brassey became dangerously ill with malaria, and

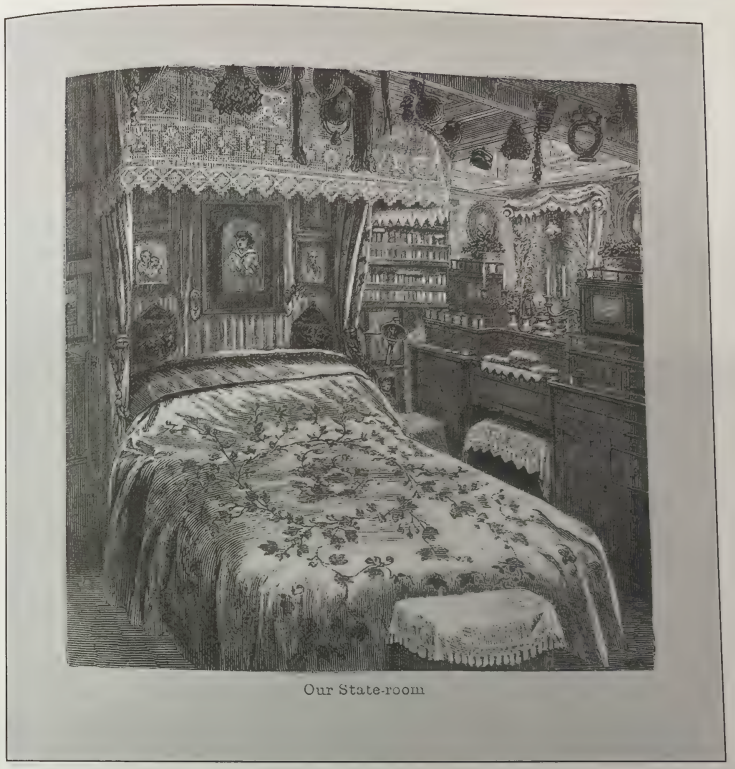
Table 2.1 Chronology of Brassey family travels

Travel date(s)	Destination(s)
1862	Algeria
1863	Holland
1866	Baltic Sea, St Petersburg
1869	Egypt, Holy Land, Syria, Malta
1872	Canada, United States
1874	Arctic Circle
1874	Mediterranean, Turkey
1876–77	Around the world voyage
1878	Mediterranean, Turkey
1881	Circumnavigation of Great Britain, Shetlands
1882–83	Egypt
1883	Bahamas, West Indies
1885	Norway
1886–87	Gibraltar, India, Australia

subsequently spent a number of weeks recovering in Malta. During these same years, their three eldest children were born, Mabelle Annie (born *c.* 1861), Thomas Allnutt (1863–1919), and Constance Alberta (born *c.* 1868), who died in 1873 at age 5. A third daughter, Muriel Agnes, was born in 1871. All four children accompanied them on their 1872 voyage to North America, described in *Eothen*. In 1874 the family went to the Arctic Circle, and shortly after returning to England set off again for the Mediterranean, spending a month in Constantinople. Their youngest child, Marie Adelaide, was born in 1875, and in 1876 the family set off around the world, returning in May 1877. The account of this trip was published as *A Voyage in the Sunbeam*. In 1878 the Brasseys traveled again in the Mediterranean and Turkey, and a description of their two voyages in the Mediterranean and Turkey appeared as *Sunshine and Storm*. Lord Brassey circumnavigated Great Britain and the Shetlands in 1881, perhaps accompanied by Lady Brassey. In 1882–83 they traveled to Egypt, and Lady Brassey's account of their trip was published in five parts in *Good Words for 1884*. The year 1883 found them sailing across the Atlantic to the Bahamas and West Indies, a trip recounted in *In the Trades, the Tropics, and the Roaring Forties*. Lord Brassey sailed with the British Naval Fleet during maneuvers in 1885, and they sailed with Mr Gladstone, the former Prime Minister, in 1885 to Norway, a trip which was subsequently described by Lady Brassey in an article in *Contemporary Review* of the same year. Lady Brassey traveled to Gibraltar in 1886, and later in the year set out on what was to be her final voyage, to India and Australia, where she died in September 1887.[33]

Yacht's Deckhouse

Fig. 2.5 *Sunshine and Storm*: 70, 219, and facing page 76.



Our State-room

Fig. 2.5 continued

Most of Lady Brassey's books are concerned to describe the lands through which the Brasseys are traveling, and the sights they see, but there are also references to shipboard life, and of course many accounts of their excursions on land and the people they meet, so that it is possible to form some idea of what their traveling life was like. Each book includes at least a few illustrations of the ship, which allow the reader to place the characters described by Lady Brassey in their shipboard setting. The views of the *Sunbeam* reproduced in Fig. 2.5 give a good idea of the comfort in which the Brassey family traveled while sailing. Early in *Voyage in the "Sunbeam"*, Lady Brassey provides this description of their daily routine:

> Our little party get on extremely well together, though a week ago they were strangers to each other. We are all so busy that we do not see much of one another except at meals, and then we have plenty to talk about.

> Captain Lecky imparts to us some of his valuable information about scientific navigation and the law of storms, and he and Tom and Captain Brown work hard at these subjects. Mr. Freer follows in the same path; Mr. Bingham draws and reads; Dr. Potter helps me to teach the children, who, I am happy to say, are as well as possible. I read and write a great deal, and learn Spanish, so that the days are all too short for what we have to do. The servants are settling down well into their places, and the commissariat department does great credit to the cooks and stewards. The maids get on satisfactorily, but are a little nervous on rough nights.[34]

The size of the crew which traveled on the *Sunbeam* varied slightly depending on the voyage, but generally numbered between thirty-one and thirty-three. They included mates and seamen, as well as stewards, cooks and cook's boys, engineers, firemen, maids and nurses, a carpenter, a signalman, and coxswains. Many of them worked for the Brassey family for years, although sickness and retirement meant that new crew had occasionally to be recruited. The Brasseys' own party usually consisted of family members (the older children were sometimes left back in England at school), friends, an artist, a doctor, and the captain and commander of the ship.

Arranging a long sea voyage for forty-five or more people involved a great deal of planning. The ship was loaded with supplies with additional goods shipped to various ports at which the yacht would call. Perishable items such as ice, milk, butter, fish, fruit, and vegetables were purchased at every opportunity from local ports. Fresh water was taken on when the ship was in port. The careful calculations involved in balancing the needs of those on board with available space were upset when anything unexpected occurred. For example, on some occasions the *Sunbeam* could not make a planned call in port because of bad weather, or goods shipped did not arrive in time. On their around the world voyage in 1876–77, the *Sunbeam* rescued the crew from a burning ship, and with the additional fifteen people on board, the water allowance for each person was immediately halved. As Lady Brassey wrote, "it is no joke to have to provide food for fifteen extra hungry mouths for a week or ten days, with no shops at hand from which to replenish our stores."[35]

In her third book, published in 1880, Lady Brassey added a brief postscript about the costs of their journeys, in response to many comments from readers about the absence of such information (which by this date was a standard feature of travel guides). She gives average costs for crew wages, and compares the cost of steaming versus that of sailing. Her main point however is that living costs more or less the same on land or on sea, and that careful planning on the part of the captain in advance of the voyage is the most important factor in keeping costs down. She enumerates long land journeys, hotel stays, and shopping as the most expensive parts of any trip. While her readers may have been disappointed in the lack of specifics provided (butter costs so much in Malta but this much in Lisbon), her intent had never been to

provide such information in her books. Further, although the Brasseys obviously understood the value of money, they were cushioned to some extent from concern over day-to-day spending by their extensive wealth.

Time on ship was never wasted. The weeks spent in crossing oceans or seas were invariably passed in studying, reading, writing, and examining whatever natural phenomena they encountered, as in the seaweed episode described earlier. Everyone on the ship had responsibilities to carry out, including the Brasseys, and while life was generally informal, some social conventions were still observed, as this passage indicates:

> Sunday, March 25th. – Hotter than ever. It was quite impossible to have service either on deck or below. We always observe Sunday by showing a little extra attention to dress, and as far as the gentlemen are concerned, a little more care in the matter of shaving. On other days I fear our toilets would hardly pass muster in civilised society. Tom set the example of leaving off collars, coats, and waistcoats; so shirts and trousers are now the order of the day. The children wear grass-cloth pinafores and very little else, Manilla or Chinese slippers being worn by those who dislike bare feet. I find my Tahitian and Hawaiian dresses invaluable: they are really cool, loose, and comfortable, and I scarcely ever wear anything else.[36]

Despite the responsibilities of overseeing a crew of thirty or so, and all of the projects which demanded attention, life on ship was more relaxed. The children had the opportunity to swim when the water was safe, worked on board ship washing decks, played, put on amateur theatricals, and generally enjoyed themselves (Fig. 2.6). For everyone, shipboard life must have provided a welcome break from the strict Victorian conventions of dress, duty, and social interaction which shaped life at home. That they appreciated their shipboard life is revealed in the following passage:

> Landsmen can never know how delightful it is to be able to sit quietly on deck late in the evening, in the open air, without any tiresome wraps, and to enjoy the soft silvery light of the stars, scarcely dimmed by the brighter rays of the young moon. It is indeed a period of tranquil happiness. One is only agreeably fatigued by the exertions of the day; and one feels so soothed by the beauty and peacefulness of the scene as to be quite content to do absolutely nothing, and to rest satisfied with the mere pleasure of existence. Indeed it is only the recollection of the charms of early rising which induces any of us to leave the deck at last.[37]

No doubt the Brasseys appreciated the tranquillity of life at sea in part because of the contrast it provided with the extremely hectic pace of visiting and touring which they maintained in the places they visited. Their political and philanthropic responsibilities and Lady Brassey's interests in botany and other branches of natural science, led to extremely full programs everywhere they went. Page after page in Lady Brassey's books are filled with accounts of days which begin before dawn, include long trips by horse, donkey, or

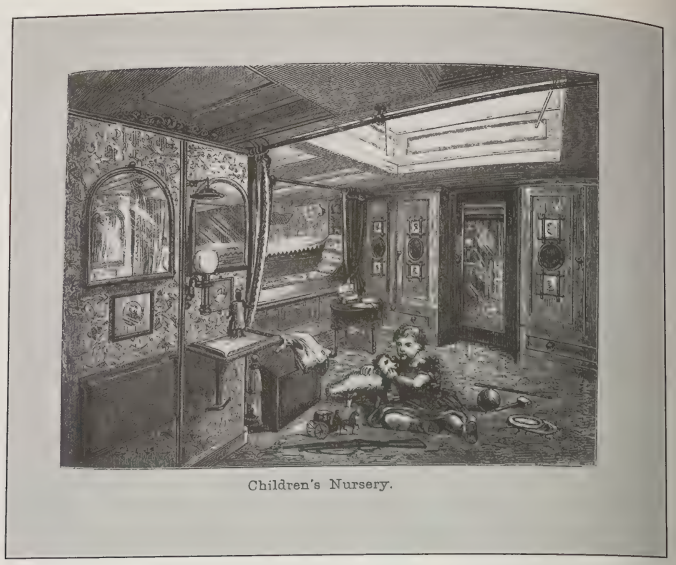


Fig. 2.6 *A Voyage in the "Sunbeam"*, 195, 256; *Sunshine and Storm*, 373.

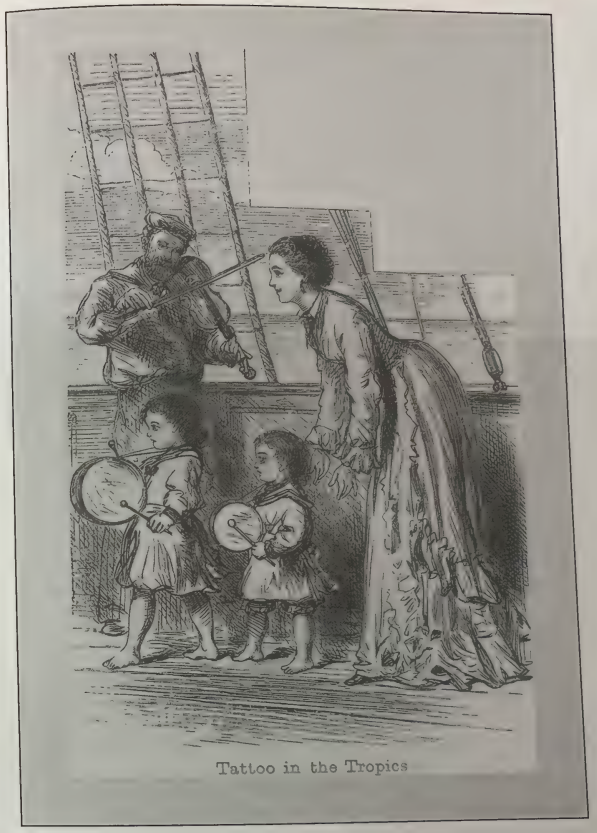


Fig. 2.6 continued

train to distant sights, visits to British homes along the way for breakfast, lunch, tea, or dinner, tours of local naval yards, mines, or factories, and returns to the yacht after midnight, only to begin the entire exhausting routine the next day. A typical day in Canton entailed visits to thirteen sites before lunch, followed by a call at the French Consulate, ending with nine further visits and tours. Along the way they stopped at a wedding-chair shop, embroiderers, lacquer-makers, silk weavers, the Jadestone Market, and gold-beaters, took a tour at the local palace, and walked through various markets. Although a great deal of the Brasseys' time on land was rigidly scheduled, with no moments wasted, they nonetheless allowed time to enjoy and

appreciate the beauty of the places they saw. On the island of Chios, for example, Lady Brassey described wandering peacefully in a lovely orange grove and gathering fruit.

Twenty-first-century tourists, accustomed to the anonymity of modern-day travel, would no doubt find the rapidity and ease with which the Brasseys became acquainted with people they met all over the world very surprising indeed. But traveling in the nineteenth century was a different matter, and certain social conventions were in place which allowed such easy interchange among virtual strangers. Lord Brassey's involvement in politics had placed them in the British political elite, many of whom were often encountered serving as local officials in British colonies. As a result of Lord Brassey's political standing, as well as the fact that he was often charged with the compilation of a report on some aspect or another of British naval facilities abroad, the Brasseys had quasi-official standing, and could make themselves at home at the Government House wherever they visited.[38] In Trinidad, for example, when they arrived in the capital Port of Spain, they went directly to Government House for a quiet dinner with the Governor and Prince Henry of Prussia. Lady Brassey writes of the occasion that "We had a pleasant dinner in a charmingly airy room, far cooler than many a London dining-room in summer . . . Except at the Straits Settlements (Singapore), I have never seen a finer Government House, nor one so well arranged in every respect."[39] If the Brasseys were visiting places where they did not expect to encounter anyone they knew, they were careful to carry with them, or send ahead, letters of introduction which provided them with an entrée to local British society. The fact that on one occasion in South America, when their letters had not arrived, they were not able to meet any of the local people, indicates the importance of this convention.

Then as now, there seems to have been the forming of the almost instant bonds of friendship and attachment which occur among members of expatriate communities. These were perhaps even stronger in the period in which the Brasseys were traveling, given the extraordinary sense of national identity which the British colonists and colonial administrators shared. Both of the Brasseys acknowledged the strength of these relationships in their writing. On leaving Hawaii, Lady Brassey writes: "I cannot express the sorrow that we all feel in leaving the many kind friends we have met with in 'dear Honolulu,' as Muriel calls it."[40] She expresses similar sentiments over and over upon their departures, as she does several years later when sailing from Trinidad, describing their leave-taking as "the much less pleasant duty of bidding our last farewells to those who, though we had only known them for a week, had already come to be regarded, owing to the great kindness they had shown to us, as friends of much longer standing."[41]

The Brasseys, and in fact everyone on the ship, depended on their interaction with the people they met ashore for social interchange, local

information, and sometimes even lodging, as in Canton for example, where she wrote that there was no decent hotel, and visitors were instead welcomed by hospitable European residents. Local inhabitants were happy to arrange tours of important and sometimes distant sights, teas, dinners, and even elaborate balls for the Brasseys, who nearly always found themselves having to decline invitations because of lack of time. For instance, they rearranged their schedule in order to be able to attend a ball given by the Duke and Duchess of Connaught in Poona, India, to celebrate the Queen's Jubilee. Lady Brassey was honoured to dance the first quadrille with the Duke and her eldest daughter danced the second set with him. It was a gala evening and she wrote, regretfully: "We were pressed to prolong our stay until tomorrow; this was, unfortunately, impossible, for we are already overdue in Bombay."[42]

As often as they were able, the Brasseys reciprocated the hospitality they enjoyed by arranging a tea or an "at home" on the *Sunbeam*, for local society. The following passage describes such an event which the Brasseys held while they were in Hawaii, in 1877.

> It was two o'clock before our visitors left; and a quarter of an hour later the Queen and her sister arrived. Her Majesty and her sister made quite as minute an inspection of the yacht as her royal consort and his brother had done before them. We had arranged to be "at home" to all our kind friends in Honolulu at four o'clock, at which hour precisely the Governor sent the Royal Band on board to enliven the proceedings. Soon our other visitors began to arrive; but the Queen appeared to be so well amused that she did not leave until five o'clock. By half-past six, the last of our guests (over 150 in number) had said farewell, and there only remained the band to be shown round and feasted after their labours. Tom went on board the "Fantome" to dine, and to meet the British, French, German, and American representatives. We went to the hotel; and I must say that I never in my life felt more thoroughly worn out than I did that night, after standing about and receiving and entertaining all the day.[43]

After the publication of *A Voyage in the "Sunbeam"*, the Brasseys acquired new fame in many corners of the world, and found a ready reception even when they were not expecting one, as this account of their arrival at an isolated lighthouse in the Bahamas indicates:

> I had taken some old newspapers and one or two copies of the "Voyage of the Sunbeam" on shore with me, thinking that they might interest the people at the lighthouse. The "Sunbeam" book they seemed to be already familiar with; for when we wrote our names in the visitors' book, and recognising them, also realised the fact that the "Sunbeam" herself was in the offing, their delight knew no bounds. At the next house – that of the assistant lighthouse keeper, DeMeric – directly his son and daughter heard of our arrival and were told that the children were on the sea-shore picking up shells, the daughter seized her hat and flew off to see Muriel and Baby, whom she welcomed as old friends. It is a curious, and at the same time a gratifying feeling to find oneself and one's

> belongings so well known in all parts of the world, through the simple writing of one little book which was never intended to be a published book at all, but was, originally, only a journal written for the information and amusement of my dear father and my most intimate friends.[44]

Travel is often idealized as an escape from the rigid social conventions and limited public roles which structured the lives of middle and upper class Victorian women. Yet, contrary to the popular ideal, most Victorian women traveled with their husbands or other male relatives, thus bringing their familial gender roles along on their journey.[45] Although travel can be seen as a breaking away from the home, the feminine domain, women, especially those traveling with family members, re-created home for themselves and their families, in their tent, their hotel, or their yacht. Moreover, while there may have sometimes been a certain amount of relaxation of social convention while traveling, as Lady Brassey notes for example in details of dress on board ship in a hot climate, on the other hand, it was very rare that a Sunday would pass without a church service being held for everyone on the ship. As a traveler, Lady Brassey, like so many of her sister travelers in this period, journeyed with the class and gender ideologies which governed her life in England. Since she always had her children with her, as well as numerous servants, and a yacht cum household to manage, Lady Brassey can hardly be described as being unencumbered by domestic responsibilities.

The active social life which claimed much of Lady Brassey's time in their various stopping places can similarly be described as a reproduction, in a different setting, of the same sorts of responsibilities and interactions to which she would have devoted her time at home. For example, she writes in her journal upon reaching Cairo in 1883,

> The hotel [Shepheard's], as usual at this hour of the afternoon, was crowded, most of the European visitors and residents meeting here to listen to or relate the news of the day. We met so many friends, that it was some time before we could escape to the same comfortable suite of rooms we occupied on our way home from our voyage round the world in 1877. Sir Edward Malet, who had kindly ordered them for us, came shortly afterwards to see us, and was followed by Lady Wynford, Sir Cromer Ashburnham, and one or two others; so that we felt quite at home directly.[46]

In addition to the dinners, teas, visits to the theater, and dances which made up the social life of the British elite, Lady Brassey carried out a range of philanthropic tasks much as she would have had she been in England. She organized St John Ambulance Association meetings nearly everywhere she went, but also visited struggling British colonists in Australia and elsewhere, and looked up former family employees who had settled in British colonies. Lady Brassey was a seasoned, experienced traveler, yet her travels, rather

than being voyages of dramatic discovery and conquest (the typical male paradigm), were domesticated journeys which served to strengthen, not weaken, her ties to home and duty.

Lady Brassey as a public figure

Although Lady Brassey's books give almost no information about her life at home in England, there are occasional references in her own writing and in other sources which give us some idea of the activities with which she was constantly involved. The following passage from her journal is the only text I have encountered which provides a description of what her life in England was like, and is thus worth quoting at length:

> Monday December 18th to Saturday December 23rd 1882.
>
> The last week of our stay in England had been a very busy and somewhat tiring one, commencing on Monday with a meet of the fox-hounds at Heathfield – our first day in that part of the Country – a dinner party, and a small dance in the evening. – On Tuesday we went to lunch at the School of Art, Hastings, and to pay another visit to my loan collection, Tom and I subsequently opening the Fishermen's Institute, and I speaking on behalf of the St. John Ambulance Association. – Tom remained at Hastings for Mr. and Lady Anne Murray's dinner to the Mayor and Corporation, while I went back to Battle to see after the treat to the poor people in the Workhouse there. – Many visitors arrived at Normanhurst to dinner and to stay, and we had another little dance. On Wednesday there was a thick fog until half past ten, when it became quite fine and warm, and the gentlemen were able to shoot. – We gave a ball, to about 350 people in the evening, which went off very successfully. – The next day the hounds met at Normanhurst, found almost directly, and had a good run. – We had to return early to receive about one hundred and fifty children for a juvenile ball – and a good many grown up people besides – at four o'clock. – They all took their departure early in the evening, but those who formed the house party were too utterly exhausted for even one more turn to the music of Coote and Tinney. – Friday we had mentally appropriated to packing up, and the making of those final arrangements which are necessarily numerous on the eve of a long absence from home. – The mid-day express from Hastings was to call at Battle, and we had had a salon car attached for the convenience of our friends returning to London; but unfortunately it turned out that their destinations were so various and engagements so numerous that this arrangement did not fit in at all, and I spent the greater part of the morning in saying farewell to my guests and sending them off to every possible train that stopped either at Battle or Bexhill. –
>
> In the afternoon a meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association took place at Battle, which I was obliged to attend … All this took time, and the result was that when evening came I found I had still all my "final arrangements" to make, and it was three o'clock the next morning before they were completed and I was able to retire to rest. –

> When called at five o'clock the next morning it looked very dark and cold, and the prospect of the long journey to Marseilles was by no means pleasing, but there was no time to be lost, and two hours later we had left Normanhurst and were fairly en route. –

There are twenty-five volumes of press cuttings assembled by the Brassey family during Lord Brassey's lifetime – an indication of the extent to which the family lived in the public eye. In the preface to *The Last Voyage*, M.A. Broome, the friend who had assisted Lady Brassey with the production of the *Sunbeam* volume, and to whom Lord Brassey gave his wife's notes for the *Last Voyage* after her death, refers to Lady Brassey's secretaries, who helped her with correspondence and other matters. One magazine article about the Brassey museum mentions the letters from readers from all over the world which were displayed in the Brassey museum. In her books, she often mentions the amount of time spent in answering letters, and at one point, during the final voyage, even hired a temporary secretary in Bombay, solely to assist in dealing with the "vast accumulation of letters from England" which had piled up while Lady Brassey was sightseeing in India.

An important focus of Lady Brassey's time, both at home and on board the *Sunbeam*, was the planning and organization of the museum which she intended to open. With her museum project, Lady Brassey joined the ranks of other amateur curators and scholars who planned for the public display of their collections, the most famous of whom is A.H.L.F. Pitt Rivers. Pitt Rivers' collection, which he donated to Oxford University in 1884, is much better known than Lady Brassey's, but their projects both display the interest in the amassing and categorization of knowledge which was so typical of Victorian England.[47] Although there is no direct evidence that the two were acquainted, the fact that they both loaned objects to the same London exhibition, and bought artifacts from the same dealer certainly suggests that they would have at least been introduced to one another.[48] Lady Brassey would have been aware of the Pitt Rivers collection, which had been on loan to the Victoria and Albert Museum since 1874, and on exhibit in the main building from 1878 until about 1884. Her intentions for her own museum were expressed by her husband shortly after her death, "One of her objects being to afford instruction and recreation to the members of the Working Men's Clubs, to whom she proposed to give constant facilities of access to the collection."[49] Lady Brassey's desire to use her museum as a means of educating the working classes reflects the conviction that museums had an important role to play in education which was already current in British thinking.[50]

The museum which Lady Brassey had envisioned was put into place by her husband shortly after her death. He purchased the beautiful Indian Durbar Hall which had been a part of the 1886 Colonial and India Exhibition at the Albert Hall and had the elaborately carved rooms taken apart and

reassembled in his London town house at 24 Park Lane. The museum opened in 1888 to an enthusiastic reception in the press and remained in that building until the family sold the house following Thomas Brassey's death in 1919. Some of the collection, including the Durbar Hall, was donated to the Hastings Museum which had been founded in 1890 in the Brassey Institute. In 1928 the Hastings Museum moved to its present site and shortly thereafter built a space designed to house the Durbar Hall, allowing the display of more of the collection. Parts of Lady Brassey's collection were dispersed to other places, in particular the Bexhill Museum in a small town near Hastings, which has most of the geological material, and the Birmingham Museum which ended up with some of the pre-Columbian gold objects.

Throughout Lady Brassey's books there are references to the collecting and storing of objects which had been acquired for the museum, as for example, when leaving Hawaii in 1877, she wrote that she was on deck very early to stow the coral, shells, and other curiosities which had been given to them by their Hawaiian friends. Objects intended to be part of the museum also appear as illustrations on the pages of her books (see Fig. A.7). At home her time was occupied in arranging for the cataloguing and storage of the growing collection, as well as with the occasional exhibitions of her material.

Unlike twenty-first-century museums, with their neat divisions into art, natural history, archaeology, and ethnography, Lady Brassey's collection encompassed all sorts of objects, a late nineteenth-century version of the *wunderkammern* or wonder cabinets of several centuries earlier. While aspects of the collection reflect her particular interests in archaeology and botany, she also acquired objects from the places she visited: geological specimens, a variety of ethnographic material, taxidermy, shells, corals, ceramics, and pre-Columbian gold. An important document for reconstructing her collection is the museum register, now in the Hastings Museum, which records the objects acquired by the Brasseys on their voyages. Organized into seventeen different categories (arms/armour, lace, ethnological specimens, corals, paintings, and so on), the register includes information about where and when an object was purchased, its price, and its location at the time of writing. The same handwriting which appears in the museum register also occurs in a number of the albums, possibly that of Bryce McMurdo Wright, a dealer and zoologist, who was associated with the Brassey family and their collections for some time. Although there is no specifically articulated collecting philosophy extant, in the amassing of her collection, as in her travel writing, Lady Brassey apparently attempted to be as comprehensive as possible.

Although Lady Brassey died before the actual museum opened, there were a number of exhibits and loans of parts of her collection which took place during her lifetime, with which she was involved. The material which she loaned to the International Fisheries Exhibition held at the South Kensington

Museum (later the Victoria and Albert) in 1883 won a prize, and was described in a published catalogue written by Bryce McMurdo Wright, *"Sunbeam" treasures; a description of the natural history and other objects lent by Lady Brassey to the International Fisheries Exhibition*.[51] Two other exhibitions of her collection were held at the Brassey Institute in Hastings.[52] McMurdo Wright also wrote two other catalogues of the Brassey collection, and was probably responsible for maintaining the museum register. He is mentioned in one of the articles which appeared at the time of the second of the Hastings exhibitions as the person who took care of displaying the collection.[53]

Lady Brassey was no doubt involved in the selection and arrangement of the objects to be exhibited, at least to some extent, but she also had other duties in association with the 1885 exhibition. According to newspaper articles, "this splendid collection of articles was formally opened on Wednesday evening by an 'At Home,' which was one of the most influential fashionable gatherings which have been held in this borough."[54] *The Hastings Times* of November 22 describes this event as follows:

> Guests commenced to arrive at about 10 o'clock, and by about 10.30 one of the largest and most fashionable gatherings of the kind ever held in Hastings had assembled in response to the invitations sent out by her Ladyship. After the reception an hour or so was spent in viewing the splendid and valuable collection of treasures. At 11.30 the guests were entertained to supper in the Library downstairs, Mr. T.W. Hine, of Queen's Road, being the caterer on the occasion. ... Shortly before twelve o'clock the company again adjourned to the large room, where short speeches were given by Sir Thomas and Lady Brassey and the Mayor (Mr. Councillor Bradnam), relative to the objects of the exhibition which her Ladyship had arranged.

Both newspapers mention the elaborate menu for this occasion, as well as the fact that the guests were entertained by the band of the Royal Marine Artillery, and note that the gathering broke up at about 1 am. Social events such as the one described here and in her journal entry would have taken a great deal of time and effort to ensure their success, and they were a regular part of Lady Brassey's life at home.

The exhibitions in Hastings were open to the public, and the funds generated by the admission fees were donated to the St John Ambulance Association. Lady Brassey was also occupied with her philanthropic projects while traveling. For example, on her last visit to Egypt in 1886 she spent their one day in Alexandria visiting the Soldiers and Sailors' Institute, and the Military Hospital at Ramleh, as well as dispersing the stores sent out by the Princess of Wales' branch of the National Aid Society. From there Lady Brassey went to Cairo, again to visit hospitals and meet with Egyptian authorities to discuss plans for the new hospital to be built at Port Said. In the

introductory chapter in *The Last Voyage*, compiled by her friend, M.A. Broome, we read: "I need not here call attention to Lady Brassey's devotion to the cause of suffering shown in her unceasing efforts to establish branches of the St. John Ambulance Association all over the world. It will be seen that the last words of the Journal refer to this subject, so near the writer's heart."[55]

Lady Brassey worked tirelessly not only for the St John Ambulance Association and to create her museum; she also supported and contributed actively to her husband's career, as he acknowledged in his own writing:

> The same eager sympathy with every interest and effort of mine led your dear mother to help me as President of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union. She attended the meetings, distributed the prizes, and on one occasion entertained the members and their friends at Normanhurst. Upwards of a thousand came down from London, and were addressed by Lord Houghton and by M. Waddington, the French Ambassador. She also did all she could to encourage the Naval Artillery Volunteers. ... She carried through all the commissariat arrangements for the six hundred naval volunteers who were brought together from London, Liverpool, and Bristol for the great review at Windsor, sleeping under canvas for three nights in our encampment, and personally and most efficiently superintending every detail.[56]

He goes on to detail other activities on Lady Brassey's part concerning his naval work, as well as her interest in the reception of colonial visitors to England, and other activities. A great deal of Lady Brassey's time was taken up in activities which she and her contemporaries perceived as being for the public good, and which she saw as expressions of her desire and responsibility to "make the world a little better than she found it."[57]

Her writings

Lady Brassey's career as an author, while not necessarily planned, nonetheless followed a path common to women travel writers in the second half of the nineteenth century. Letters sent home to family, or a journal of a voyage often became the basis of a travel account, once the journey was over and the author back at home. As one contemporary noted, "The woman character went abroad as a reporter of strange customs or breathtaking views which it was her task to relay home with an appropriate sense of the picturesque. She need hardly mention herself and still less anything beyond the most conventional of feelings."[58] Travel writing provided women with an opportunity to recount their experiences and aspects of their lives, even to contest dominant discourses, but in a format which satisfied contemporary ideas of feminine modesty and reserve.

Although she may not have set out to be a writer, Lady Brassey wrote well and in a style accessible to many different kinds of people, as the success of

her books attests. The fact that she took her responsibilities in reporting on the places she visited seriously is indicated by a number of passages in her books, as well as by comments made by Lord Brassey. In a short preface to the *Sunbeam* volume he writes, "The practised skill of a professional writer cannot reasonably be expected in these simple pages, but their object will have been attained if they are the means of enabling more home-keeping friends to share in the keen enjoyment of the scenes and adventures they describe."[59] Elsewhere, he mentions Lady Brassey's dedication to her work, saying, "In India, in Borneo, in Australia, she was resolved to leave no place unvisited which could by any possibility be reached, and where she was led to believe that objects of interest could be found, to be described to readers who could not share her opportunities of travel."[60]

All of Lady Brassey's writing adopts the same structure. She presents an edited version of the daily accounts of the family's activities, organized chronologically. Her accounts include their excursions to places of interest, unusual events which occur on the ship, social events on land and sea, and a great deal of information about the appearance and condition of the places they visit. She incorporates information from the books she is reading, about political history, natural resources, and other matters, to supplement what she herself observes. It is the places themselves which are the primary subject of her writing, not the personal lives of the family, or the people they encounter as they travel. Her texts are always illustrated with a variety of material, including some of her own photographs,[61] and the appendices provide specific information about the ship's course, names of the people who made the voyage, and other details.

Lady Brassey's first published book,[62] *A Cruise in the Eothen*, describes a voyage to North America in 1872 in which Annie Brassey, her cousin Gertrude Evelyn Robinson, and her four children, Thomas Allnutt, Mabelle, Constance, and Muriel took the commercial steamer the SS *Hibernia* from Liverpool. They met Thomas Brassey in Quebec on September 9, who along with two companions had sailed their yacht *Eothen* across the Atlantic. Traveling mostly by yacht with occasional inland excursions by train, the group visited Montreal, Toronto, Ottawa, and Niagara Falls. They then sailed back through the Gulf of St Lawrence along the coast of New Brunswick, past Nova Scotia to Boston. From Boston the Brasseys sailed around Cape Cod, stopping at Naushon Island, a small island between Martha's Vineyard and the Massachusetts coast. They went next to Providence, and then spent four days in New York before taking an excursion up the Hudson to see West Point with a side trip to Albany, returning for another week in New York. The *Eothen* then sailed to Baltimore, via Norfolk and Washington DC. The Brasseys spent a week in Washington, Annapolis, and Baltimore, leaving their yacht in Baltimore, and traveling by train back to NY, stopping briefly in Philadelphia. They returned to England by commercial steamship, the SS

Russia, arriving in Liverpool on November 30, 1872. Mrs Brassey says in the text that they left the yacht in Baltimore, hoping to return the next year. As far as I know they did not, and according to the list of their yachts in the appendix of Eardley-Wilmont's book, the *Eothen* only belonged to them in 1872, so presumably they sold it.

The Brasseys were very interested to provide a thorough report on Canada, which they regarded as "so fertile and so improving a country, and one so much wanted for emigration for our overflowing population."[63] They were favorably impressed with almost everything they saw in Canada. Perhaps because of Mr Brassey's political interests, they paid special attention to industrial development in the United States, visiting the textile mills in Lowell, Massachusetts, as well as the mills near Providence. In Boston, the Commissioner of Public Education took the Brasseys on a tour of the public school system, and they also visited Harvard University. The Brasseys visited shipyards in a number of locations, and, according to Lady Brassey, "devoted some hours to a minute inspection" of the Naval Academy at Annapolis.[64] It is a mark of their social prestige and political standing that when in Washington the Brasseys met both President and Mrs Grant privately at the White House. They were then taken on a tour of the Treasury that included secret vaults "into which visitors as a rule are not allowed to go."[65]

The format of *Eothen*, as well as the kinds of activities described in the book, resemble closely Lady Brassey's subsequent four books. In these books, however, the structure is somewhat more formal, with illustrations which are prepared by professional artists and wood engravers, not the amateur photographs which are hand-pasted into *Eothen*. All four books are considerably longer than *Eothen*, although they do not always document voyages of a greater length.

A Voyage in the "Sunbeam", the second of Lady Brassey's travel accounts, was by far the most successful, in part perhaps because of the novelty of the journey it described: a family with very young children traveling around the world by private yacht. The book appeared in its first edition in 1878, and was subsequently reprinted many times, going into eight editions in Britain, the last of which was published in 1908. There were also numerous American editions, as well as one in Canada. It was translated into French and German, coming out in several editions in both languages. Finally, versions of the book were published for younger readers, and for school use.

The Brasseys' voyage around the world, traveling west, took eleven months, from July 1, 1876 until May 27, 1877. Their party included the family with all four children (ages 15, 13, 5, and 1), although their son Tab left them at Rio de Janeiro to return to England and school, as well as their friends F. Hubert Freer, the artist the Honourable A.Y. Bingham, the doctor Henry Potter, the ship's commander James Brown, and its captain Squire T.S. Lecky. In addition, there was a crew of thirty-three.

The *Sunbeam*'s route took the Brasseys from England to Madeira, the Canary Islands, and the Cape de Verde Islands, across the Atlantic to Rio de Janeiro. By mid-August they had reached Rio, and spent two and a half months touring Brazil and Chile, and rounding the tip of South America through the Straits of Magellan. From there they set off across the Pacific, reaching Tahiti after four weeks at sea. Christmas and New Year's were spent in Hawaii. A second four weeks at sea brought the *Sunbeam* to Japan, where the Brasseys spent about three weeks before moving on to Hong Kong, Canton, and Singapore. By late March, the party had reached Sri Lanka, which they toured extensively during their week-long stay. The final two months of their voyage were spent in sailing from Sri Lanka to Aden, up the Red Sea, through the Suez Canal, across the Mediterranean, through the Straits of Gibraltar and home to Hastings, with brief stops along the way at Aden, Suez, Port Said, Cairo, Alexandria, Malta, Gibraltar, and Lisbon.

Their long journey brought them many adventures, as well as providing the opportunity to see places few other English families had visited at that time. The book recounts adventures as well as describing the landscapes, plant life, and other aspects of the lands they visited. The *Sunbeam* itself caught fire three times during the voyage, and although damage turned out to be slight, the account of nighttime on board the burning ship is exciting nonetheless. Off the southern tip of South America the *Sunbeam* rescued the fifteen-man crew of a boat carrying a load of coal which had ignited. The rescue was completed just an hour or two before the ship went up in flames, and the story told in great detail by Lady Brassey for her readers.

For most of their voyage, the Brassey party stayed aboard the *Sunbeam*, or traveled as a group on land, visiting British acquaintances along the way. The only departure from this mode of travel occurred in Chile, when Lady Brassey and some of their party traveled inland for about ten days while Lord Brassey sailed on to meet them. Lady Brassey was the only member of their small group who spoke any Spanish, and they traveled on their own, without the assistance of British friends or political officials, one of the few instances where it was a necessity to meet local people and make impromptu travel arrangements. They traveled by railroad and carriage, visiting a number of small cities and a local hot springs resort, and had the usual kinds of problems with misleading information about train schedules, poor food, and noisy neighbors which often befall travelers, as well as many encounters with helpful and interesting Chileans. The combination of travel adventure and on board routine, as well as the variety of places which the Brasseys visited and about which Lady Brassey reported produced a book which was an immediate success upon its publication, and is still enjoyable to read today.

Lady Brassey's third book, published in 1880, is entitled *Sunshine and Storm in the East, or Cruises to Cyprus and Constantinople*. The title refers to the great differences that Lady Brassey noticed in Constantinople between

the first and second trips whose descriptions comprise the text of the book.[66] The first trip, in 1874–75, was made on the *Sunbeam* from England, with stops at Palermo, southern Italy, and a number of ports in the Greek Islands, arriving finally in Istanbul, where the Brasseys remained for a month. Their return to England took them along the western coast of Turkey, around Greece to Albania, then to Naples and Nice, where they boarded a train which took them to Paris. On the second trip, in 1878, the Brasseys left England on the *Sunbeam*, stopped at Oran in Algeria, Cagliari in Sardinia, then at Naples, and then circled Cyprus, calling at a number of different cities. From Cyprus they went again to Istanbul, staying this time for only ten days. On their way back to England, they again traveled through the Greek Islands, went then to Malta, and disembarked at Marseilles, traveling by train from there. The book is divided into two parts, the first of which concerns Constantinople and the Ionian Islands in 1874, and the second one describing Cyprus and Constantinople in 1878.

According to the preface, the author was encouraged to publish this account by the success of her previous book, *A Voyage in the "Sunbeam"*. The organization is much the same, with a chronological presentation of material, rather informally written. Again, the appendices include a variety of information, for instance the ship's log for each voyage, a summary of the cost of the voyage, and long passages quoted from the published travel accounts of Ali Bey, who visited Paphos and Cyprus in 1800. According to the appendices, on the first voyage passengers consisted of Thomas and Annie Brassey, their three children, Mabelle, Tab (the family nickname for *T*homas *A*llnutt *B*rassey), and Muriel (whom they call Muñie), Annie Brassey's cousin G. Evelyn Robinson, the artist the Hon. A.Y. Bingham, and Herbert Swift, who was perhaps a friend of Tab's, since he left with him at Gibraltar. On the second trip, Tab did not accompany them, probably because he was at school, and the Brasseys' youngest daughter, Marie Adelaide, had been added to the family. Evelyn Robinson did not make the second trip; however, the Brasseys and Mr Bingham were joined by James B. Hoffmeister, perhaps a family friend.

The Brassey party were particularly interested in the ruins and sights of the classical world, as well as, of course, the major monuments, both ancient and contemporary, of the Ottoman capital. Lady Brassey had an interest in archaeology, and in fact later helped to support an excavation at Kourion on Cyprus. As did other tourists of the period, they took photographs and made drawings of the sites and artifacts they encountered, purchased souvenirs from some of the major sites, and enjoyed the countryside. Although they visited other cities briefly, Istanbul claimed most of their attention. While there, they stayed on their yacht and enjoyed socializing with both the local British and Ottoman elite. Annie Brassey took the opportunity to meet a number of Ottoman women and recorded their interactions in some detail.

Compared to the almost frantic pace of touring they maintained on some of their other trips, they conducted their sightseeing on these two voyages in a much more leisurely way. Perhaps this is due to the fact that the Mediterranean Sea and its coasts were almost in their own backyard, since they traveled to that region nearly every year. The same cannot be said for India, the South Pacific, Australia, or South America, to name only a few examples. Although the Brasseys were reasonably well informed about the Ottoman empire, Lady Brassey's explanations of many aspects of Ottoman life reveal gaps in her understanding of both political and social customs. It is clear that the Ottoman empire, while of interest, did not merit the same amount of detailed study as other regions, such as Egypt or India, in which Britain had a direct political involvement.

In the Trades, the Tropics and the Roaring Forties is the title of Lady Brassey's fourth book, published in 1884, which recounts her family's adventures on a trip across the Atlantic from Madeira to Trinidad, Venezuela, Jamaica, the Bahamas, Bermuda, the Azores and finally back to England. The title refers to the trade winds which carried the *Sunbeam* to the tropics which were the object of their voyage. The Brasseys traveled 14,000 miles in almost exactly three months, from late September to late December 1883, encountering some very heavy seas along the way. Their party consisted of Lady Brassey and her husband, their two younger daughters and two of their daughters' friends, Rhoda and Violet Liddell, three men, including their artist friend R.T. Pritchett, and a crew of thirty-one.

One of the main attractions of this part of the world, at least for Lady Brassey, was the tropical vegetation, and her descriptions of the botanical wonders they encountered are a primary component of the book. She also recounts what they learn about local fauna, local history, and indigenous and modern manufacturing, as well as reporting on the British colonists and settlers whom they meet. While she reports on their encounters with the native inhabitants of the places they visit, her emphasis, as always, is on members of the British empire.

Although the journals from which her first two books were written were not necessarily originally intended for publication, this is certainly not the case with her subsequent books. It is possible to see an increasing awareness of the fact that she is writing for publication in the amount of information she is concerned to relate about the places she visits. In the case of their 1883 voyage to the Caribbean, she refers to the inadequacies of published works on the West Indies: "most of the literature on the subject of the West Indies . . . is written from a statistical, 'romantical,' or 'missionarial' point of view, and contains comparatively little practical information and advice. A sensible and accurate guide-book to this part of the world would be an immense boon."[67] Although she does not necessarily set out to write such a guidebook herself, certainly she is interested in providing accurate descriptions of hotels and guide facilities for tourists, as well as the sites that she considers most important to visit.

Lady Brassey's final book, *The Last Voyage to India and Australia in the "Sunbeam"*, was published posthumously, slightly more than one year after her death. The book was assembled from her journal notes and other family papers by her friend, Lady M.A. Broome, who had helped her edit the *Sunbeam* volume. On this last voyage, which began in November 1886, Lady Brassey and her daughters traveled by commercial steamer from Suez to Bombay, while Lord Brassey sailed the *Sunbeam* to India. From there they went to Karachi, then back to Bombay, south along the Indian coast to Colombo, to Rangoon, to Singapore, to several ports in Borneo, and then to Australia, which they circled. Lady Brassey died off Port Darwin, and from that point the voyage lasted for another three months, as the *Sunbeam* sailed due west across the Indian Ocean, around the Cape of Good Hope, made a brief visit to Cape Town, called at Sierra Leone, the Azores, and finally arrived back in Portsmouth in December 1887.

The book includes two appendices, which provide information about the last three months of the voyage, an abstract of the ship's log, and the outline of the ship's voyage which appeared in *The Times* on December 15, 1887. Unfortunately the book does not give a list of passengers and crew, although at one point in *The Times* article, a crew of twenty-four men is mentioned. Several other people are mentioned by name in Lady Brassey's account of the voyage, so we know that, as usual, the family was traveling with a party of friends and associates. The artist R.T. Pritchett traveled with them as far as Macassar in the Dutch East Indies, there was a doctor on board, a Mr des Graz is mentioned in connection with photography, and a Mr Wright (perhaps Bryce McMurdo Wright, who assisted Lady Brassey in cataloguing and organizing objects for the museum) is also mentioned.

Considering Lady Brassey's extremely poor health for much of this voyage, their pace of official activities and trips into the wilderness to see unusual natural phenomena is nearly unbelievable. While in India and Australia, their time was taken up with a continual round of tours of inspection, visits, and dinners with members of the British colonial administrations and high-ranking local officials, in the case of India. In the more remote areas they visited, they often journeyed for several hours or longer to have a look at something especially noteworthy, as for example when the party spent nearly nine hours traveling through jungle to reach the Madai Caves of Borneo, several more hours exploring the caves and collecting birds' nests and eggs, and then traveled back, reaching the *Sunbeam* after a very long twenty-one hours. Although the kind of information which is presented in this book is similar to what is covered in Lady Brassey's earlier works, the tone of the book is a little different. By this time in her life, Lady Brassey has traveled very extensively and has written

about nearly every corner of the globe. She is ten years older than when she was writing *A Voyage in the "Sunbeam"* and for most of the voyage was quite ill. All of these factors influence her writing, which has lost much of the sparkle of her early books, and often sounds very pedestrian, despite the exotic places she is describing. Her authorial voice is recognizable but somewhat altered by age, experience, and illness.

Lady Brassey's writing displays some of the characteristics that other authors have identified in the work of Victorian women travel writers.[68] Her books are often introduced with a short preface by her husband, who in the way that male relatives apparently felt it necessary to do in this period, speaks in a disparaging manner of "these simple pages," but also lauds his wife's faithful recording of her impressions and her perseverance.[69] He therefore reminds the reader that the author is simply recording what she saw, not carrying out exploration or research, and that unlike the accepted paradigm of male genius, she labored long and hard at her work.[70] While Lady Brassey supports British imperial politics, she does not present her own travel narrative as a journey of conquest or penetration. She does participate in the project of imperialism in her desire to inform her readers about all that she sees, positioning herself as an explorer whose gains are in knowledge rather than territory.[71] Despite her own extensive reading and travel experience, she often defers to the work of male experts on the region under discussion, as for example in the passage about Ceylon quoted above. Lady Brassey, at least according to her husband's memoir, first undertook her travel writing as a filial duty, and when she realized its popularity, as a means of discharging her obligations to those less fortunate who did not have her opportunities to travel. The worldwide fame she acquired, as well as any profits the books generated, were never acknowledged as motivating forces in her work, again in keeping with accepted ideals of feminine behaviour, in this case, modesty, devotion to family, and philanthropy.

It is a telling statement on the limited values of a stereotype to realize that despite all of her extraordinary achievements, Lady Brassey lived her life within what we, from our twenty-first-century vantage point, describe as the limiting and rigid gender ideologies of the Victorian period. Her devotion to husband and family, her philanthropic accomplishments, her strong interests in botany and photography, even her travel and writing are well within what was socially acceptable for a woman of her class and period.[72] Far from testing social boundaries or contesting ideologies, Lady Brassey was admired and respected in her own life (although, as the *Queen* article quoted earlier in this chapter and her husband's memoir from *The Last Voyage* demonstrate, her accomplishments were presented in such a way as to emphasize their feminine nature). As other writers have noted in recent work on Victorian women, as we learn more about individual women, as we note the extraordinary volume of travel literature produced by women in this period,

and as we examine the genesis of our stereotypes of Victorian women,[73] we may decide it is time to abandon the stereotype of the submissive, house-bound female. However, as Vicinus notes in her prescient 1977 work, *A Widening Sphere*, it would be a mistake to substitute one stereotype for another, and ignore the limits which constrained Victorian women. As she writes, "Rather, we should recognize the struggle to achieve independence [and accomplishments – my addition] within the framework of traditional social value as being a hallmark of the times."[74] Lady Brassey's life, and her projects which we will examine in the next chapter, add another piece to our fragmentary understanding of Victorian women and their relationship to the society in which they lived.

Notes

1. Shteir, 1996: 7.
2. *The Last Voyage*: xv.
3. *Queen*, May 11, 1889.
4. *The Last Voyage*: xix.
5. This account of Lord Brassey's naval interests is taken from the entry concerning his life in the 1927 edition of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, pp. 62–3.
6. *The Last Voyage*: xxii.
7. *Trades and Tropics*: 446.
8. *Sunbeam*: 306.
9. *Last Voyage*: 154.
10. *Last Voyage*: 26.
11. *Last Voyage*: xvi.
12. Narrative distancing is the term used by Morgan in her insightful work, *Place Matters*. It is important to note that Lady Brassey, while not writing outside of a hegemonic framework, is nonetheless producing a gendered narrative, free of the kind of imperial imagery of conquest and penetration which is often a characteristic of male narratives of exploration.
13. *Last Voyage*: 288.
14. Lady Brassey's journal, Friday, February 9, 1883, in Cairo.
15. While earlier scholarship in this area often insisted on the existence of shared, feminine viewpoints on gender and imperialism, more recent work foregrounds the heterogeneity of female discourse around these issues. See particularly Lewis, 1996; Melman, 1989, 1992; and Morgan, 1993, 1996.
16. The St John Ambulance Association is an offshoot of the Order of St John of Jerusalem, founded originally in about 1092 for the maintenance of a hospital in Jerusalem and the care of pilgrims. Over the centuries the original Order fell into disarray, but it was reorganized in the early nineteenth century with a mandate for the care of the sick, especially the poor. The St John Ambulance Association in particular was concerned with training the general public in first aid, training nurses, and supplying rural areas with ambulances and first aid supplies. The impact of their efforts, all supported by money raised or donated by wealthy patrons, was a substantial increase in basic knowledge of emergency medicine, and a decrease in death or serious injury resulting from accidents and sudden

illness which occurred in isolated areas. Lady Brassey's extensive involvement included fundraising, giving lectures about the work of the Association, founding branches all over the world, organizing first aid courses, presenting certificates to those who had completed their training, and writing pamphlets. In 1881 she was made a Dame Chevalier of the Order of St John, in recognition of her work for the Ambulance Association.

17. *Trades and Tropics*: 234.
18. It is perhaps no coincidence that two of Lady Brassey's particular botanical interests are ferns and seaweed. As she remarks, her fascination with ferns was formed in her childhood in the 1840s, a period during which there was what one writer has called a "fern craze" in England. Moreover, in Lady Brassey's time algolists (or studiers of seaweed) comprised a significant group of women botanists. In her interest in collecting botanical specimens on her travels to be taken home for study and classification, Lady Brassey joined the ranks of other British women botanists who traveled or lived outside of Britain. See Shteir, 1996, especially Chapters 7 and 8, for a discussion of the role of women in botany in England in this period.
19. *Trades and Tropics*: 363–5.
20. *Sunbeam*: 398.
21. *Trades and Tropics*: 115.
22. Ann Shteir, *Cultivating Women, Cultivating Science: Flora's Daughters and Botany in England 1760–1860*, provides a detailed and convincing account of the shifting, gendered nature of botanical practice and discourse in England.
23. See Lloyd, 1985 and Morgan, 1993 for a discussion of these issues, and further bibliography.
24. Mentioned in *Trades and Tropics*: 336, in connection with a discussion of an unfamiliar plant spotted in the seas in the Bahamas.
25. In her autobiography, North mentions contacts with the Brasseys on several occasions. Morgan, op. cit.
26. This point was also made in Kathryn Bridge's excellent biography of Sarah Crease, who was herself a botanical illustrator of some merit. Bridge, 1996: 23.
27. The close relationship between photography and botany in the work of Fox Talbot is the subject of the 1993 article by Graham Smith, "Talbot and Botany: The Bertolini Album."
28. Personal communication from Mrs Pamela Haines and Victoria Williams, Hastings Museum.
29. The issues involved in separating Lady Brassey's photography from that of others traveling with her is discussed below in Chapter 3 when her photographic work is considered in more detail.
30. The work of women photographers in nineteenth-century Britain is just beginning to receive the attention it merits. Until recently Anna Atkins, Julia Margaret Cameron, and Lady Clementina Hawarden were the only three nineteenth-century British women to be routinely included in surveys of photo history or other publications. However, Cameron's extensive body of work has lately been the subject of a number of publications, there is a new book-length work on Hawarden, and the short bibliography on women in the nineteenth century is slowly expanding. Val Williams's *Women Photographers: The Other Observers*, published originally in 1988 and subsequently rewritten, which focuses on British women photographers, provides an excellent introduction to the work and social context of nineteenth-century women photographers. Naomi Rosenblum's survey *A History of Women Photographers*, published in 1994, includes a catalogue of

women photographers and bibliography which is a useful starting place for further research. A major contribution to expanding knowledge of the work of women photographers is the Women in Photography International Archive, in California, organized by Peter Palmquist. *The Positive Image: Women Photographers in Turn of the Century America*, written by C. Jane Gover in 1988, analyzes many of the challenges facing American women in their pursuit of photography. Similar problems would have confronted women in Britain.

31. *Sunbeam*: 201.
32. *Sunbeam*: 446.
33. According to Eardley-Wilmont, Lord Brassey made twelve trips to the Mediterranean, only seven of which are included in this chronology. While some of those voyages may have taken place after Lady Brassey's death, it is unfortunate, from the point of view of the history of photography, that it is not possible to establish a more definite list of dates for the Brasseys' visits to Egypt, so that the photographs purchased there could be dated even more specifically.
34. *Sunbeam*: 11.
35. *Sunbeam*: 108.
36. *Sunbeam*: 424.
37. *The Last Voyage*: 93.
38. The official residence of the British official in charge of a particular colony or piece of the empire, Government House also served as the center of British social life in the area. Depending on the degree to which they were acquainted with the local official, the Brasseys often stayed at Government House while they were visiting.
39. *Trades and Tropics*: 99–101.
40. *Sunbeam*: 301.
41. *Trades and Tropics*: 159.
42. *The Last Voyage*: 54.
43. *Sunbeam*: 298.
44. *Trades and Tropics*: 304.
45. According to Melman, 1992, Chapter 1.
46. Journal entry, Saturday, February 3, 1883.
47. See Carla Yanni, *Nature's Museums: Victorian Science and The Architecture of Display*, for an excellent overview of natural science museums in this period.
48. Porter, 1996: 39.
49. From the memoir written by Lord Brassey in *The Last Voyage*: xvi.
50. See for example, Coombes, 1988: "The notion of an educational practice based on the careful observation and study of museum collections had already been integral to both the Victoria and Albert Museum and the National Gallery from their inauguration in the 1850s" (p. 63). The role of the Natural History Museum in particular in educating the working classes is also discussed in Yanni, 1999: 9.
51. I have actually found references to a total of six catalogues of the Brassey collection, of which at least four were written by Wright. The earliest is called *A catalogue of works of art and curiosities at Normanhurst Court, Battle*, and has a publication date of April 22, 1878. It contains a short preface by "A.M." [Alfred Maskell (Porter, 1996: xiii)] acknowledging the descriptions of the scientific specimens which were supplied by Mr Bryce M. Wright. Privately printed, it was no doubt intended for visitors to the house. Porter mentions an "Additional Brassey catalogue" published in 1881, although he does not list an author (Porter, 1996: ii). A third catalogue was written by Wright to describe the objects lent by Lady Brassey to the International Fisheries Exhibition, held in London in 1883.

Two catalogues appeared in 1885, one for an exhibition at "Sir Thomas Brassey's room at the School of Fine Arts in Claremont, Hastings" (listed in Porter: xiii), and the other a description of gold ornaments from the graves of native peoples of South America belonging to Lady Brassey. The National Union Catalogue of the Library of Congress in the United States lists the 1878, 1883, and two editions of the gold ornament catalogue (1884, 1885) under Wright's name. Finally, a catalogue was published on the occasion of the opening of the Park Lane Museum, *c.* 1888, but I do not know who the author was. It is entirely possible that additional catalogues were written by Wright, or others, but catalogues of this sort are brief, ephemeral publications difficult to trace after a century has passed. The Hastings Public Library has the 1883 *Sunbeam Treasures* catalogue in its collection, as well as a second catalogue, *A Catalogue of Natural History Objects, Ethnological Specimens, and Curiosities, exhibited by Lady Brassey at Hastings, 1884–1885*. The museum register describing the objects exhibited in the museum which opened after Lady Brassey's death is in the collection of the Hastings Museum.

52. The Brassey Institute was founded by Thomas Brassey in 1879 in Hastings, and contained an apartment used by the Brassey family when they stayed in town, a library, a science school, and on the top floor, a specially designed art school with skylights to provide natural light. Classes were held for the benefit of men of the working classes, and the art school space was on at least two occasions used for temporary exhibitions of the Brassey collection. Other public meetings also took place in the building. The structure, built in a striking Venetian Gothic style, still serves the town of Hastings as the Hastings Central Library.
53. *Hastings Observer*, Nov. 22, 1885.
54. ibid.
55. *Last Voyage*: iv–v.
56. *Last Voyage*: xvii.
57. *Last Voyage*: xxiv.
58. Lady Eastlake, quoted in Sanders, 1989: 12, who provides a useful discussion of aspects of women's travel writing in the first chapter of her book, *The Private Lives of Victorian Women: Autobiography in nineteenth-century England*, pp. 1–27.
59. *Sunbeam*: vii–viii.
60. *Last Voyage*: xx.
61. See Appendix I for a detailed discussion of the illustration of Lady Brassey's books.
62. According to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Lady Brassey's first printed work was *The Flight of the Meteor*, published for private circulation in 1869 (Lee, 1901: 261–2). However, this work has so far proved impossible to find: it is not listed in the *National Union Catalogue* of the United States Library of Congress, and I have never been able to see a copy of it. In addition to her travel books, she also provided the text for a volume of photographs of Tahiti taken by her friend Colonel Stuart-Wortley, which was published in 1882, and wrote other shorter pieces for various publications.
63. *Eothen*: 45.
64. ibid: 136.
65. ibid: 132.
66. While in Istanbul in 1874, the Brasseys had an opportunity to meet Sultan Abdül Aziz. His portrait opens the photograph album which contains their collection of photographs from Istanbul and the surrounding area, and a drawing he gave them is reproduced in *Sunshine and Storm*. By 1878, Abdül Aziz had been deposed and committed suicide, his successor Murad V had in turn been deposed and was imprisoned in the very palace that Lady Brassey had reported on so enthusiastically on her first visit to the city, and Abdül Hamid II, whom the Brasseys regarded as a despot, had come to power.
67. *Trades and Tropics*: 206.
68. See particularly Melman, 1992, and Morgan, 1996.
69. From the preface to *A Voyage in the "Sunbeam"*.
70. Melman, 1992, provides a useful discussion of the way in which travel writing came to be seen in the nineteenth century as a properly "feminine" activity, perfectly suited to feminine qualities and aptitudes. See p. 42 and n. 38.
71. Morgan identifies this narrative strategy as one used in writing about specific places in which the author could not locate himself/herself as the actual colonizer, but I believe it is applicable in this case also. Morgan, 1996: 27.
72. It is impossible to overestimate the importance of class and wealth in any woman's ability to function comfortably within Victorian social limits.
73. Several writers have described the stereotypical Victorian woman as a useful construct of the twentieth century. Morgan, for example, writes, "conventional views of Victorian women as confined are to a great extent a favored twentieth-century American and European project, enacted to demonstrate our own cultural 'advances' (and thereby draw a curtain over our constraints)" (Morgan, 1996: 20).
74. Vicinus, 1977: xix.

CHAPTER THREE

The Brassey Albums and the History of Photography in the Middle East

The Brassey albums in the Huntington Library are an imposing set of books: seventy enormous volumes with identical brown leather, gold-stamped bindings and gilded edges.[1] The albums each measure 44.7 × 35 cm and generally contain between seventy-two and eighty thick board pages, on to which the photographs are pasted. There is some variation in the contents of the albums, with some having more pages (as many as 100), while others have been left incompletely filled. The marbled endpapers at the inside front and back covers of each album are identical, a tightly controlled design of ripples and swirls in crimson, mustard, blue, teal, and a pinkish beige. At the lower left edge of the first page in each volume, in very small print, is stamped "Bound by Zaehnsdorf."[2]

On the outside, the binding is quarter morocco, a glossy, warm-toned brown leather. A different, grainier leather, sometimes dark brown, or else a darkish red, is used for the boards. The book spine is the only part of each binding to carry any writing or ornament. Decoration is restrained, consisting merely of a number of plain gold lines and a pair of small, gold-stamped palmettes at the upper and lower edges. A delicate gold line in the form of a chain has been applied to the two protruding ribs which cover the binding cords. There is a capital B topped with a crown, stamped near the lower edge. Most of the space on each spine is taken up with a listing of the contents of the album, in gold letters. The general subject, in nearly all cases a place name, is printed at a distance of nine centimeters from the top edge of the book. In some cases there is a second descriptive title underneath the place name, for example, "Egypt. Ruins, Pyramids & Monuments." The subject name is separated from what follows by a small linear motif, and if there is a second title, that too is set off by a small decorative motif. In either case a more specific list of contents follows, such as (returning to our example), "Temple of Hathor. Obelisk of Ramses II. Temple of Karnak. Temple of Thebes. Statue of Memnon. Temple of Isis. Temple of Hypaethrale. Etc."

The entire set of seventy volumes is enormous and would have taken up a great deal of shelf space wherever it was stored. Individual volumes are not numbered, although there is some internal evidence which indicates that they were organized alphabetically, according to the place names or other titles on each album.[3] The absence of volume numbers indicates that the images in the

albums were intended as an encyclopedic presentation of many regions of the world and diverse subjects, rather than as a series of illustrations for a particular voyage, with a beginning and an end.[4] Furthermore, the uniformity in size and binding design of the massive volumes confirms that they were conceived of as a set. Although the albums are in very good condition, they do display signs of use, in the rubbing at the spines and corners.[5]

The albums were shelved for examination in a special room of the Brassey Museum in Lord Brassey's home in Park Lane, London. The photograph in Fig. 3.1, which appeared in one of the newspaper articles published on the occasion of the opening of the museum, shows the room in the museum devoted to the display of the albums, along with a chair and viewing stand which allowed visitors to look at the albums. In choosing to include photographs in her museum displays, Lady Brassey was following the lead of the South Kensington Museum (later, the Victoria and Albert Museum), which had begun collecting photographs almost from its very inception as an institution, and held its first exhibition of photographs in 1858.[6]

The photographs in the albums provide many kinds of information about the world outside the walls of Lady Brassey's museum. The mainstay of the commercial photographer working in a tourist market in this period – views of landscape, townscapes, and important monuments – comprises a large part of the contents of the albums. Views of local people in their own surroundings are less numerous, although an important part of the collection in some volumes. However, what sets the Brassey albums apart from other travel albums of the period is the range of subject matter, in terms both of location and type, that the collection includes. Thus for example, in addition to the kinds of images described above which illustrate numerous regions of the world, there are also photographs of museum exhibitions or the works of art which are on display in various museums or galleries, from the Boulak Museum in Cairo to the art galleries in the Vatican. Particularly unusual natural phenomena are included – views of a volcano erupting, lush tropical vegetation, or an enormous, locally famous chestnut tree in Madeira. There is an entire volume dedicated to photographs of archaeological finds from an excavation on Cyprus which Lady Brassey was supporting financially. Modernity is represented in a variety of contexts, including an engineering project in the former Austro-Hungarian empire and the newly reconstructed Çirağan Palace in the Ottoman capital.

This diverse, eclectic assortment of photographs of people, places, and objects from all over the world was, I believe, intended to augment the similarly diverse museum collection that Lady Brassey assembled, but the albums and their images also served to instruct by example. Since the presence in the album of a place or object was an implicit recognition of its interest or value to the album audience, by casting such a wide net for the subjects which were included in the albums, Lady Brassey was setting grand

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Fig. 3.1 A room in the Brassey Museum set aside for albums and other books. The photograph albums occupy nearly all of the lower three shelves behind the chair.

parameters for the bounds of common knowledge. She was saying, in effect: These are the subjects in which visitors to my museum should be interested: architecture, archaeology, botany, ethnography, biology, geology, painting, and so on, not just from Britain or Europe, but from all over the world. Lady Brassey's museum as well as the photograph albums and her travel writing are very much a part of the British imperial project. In Lady Brassey's case,

she is amassing knowledge in order to describe the world, rather than acquiring territory or specific political control.[7]

The individual albums vary considerably in their contents, in their subject matter, and in the size and number of the photographs included. Volume 21, "North America. Canada. Mexico." has the largest number of images, with 335, and Volume 66, "Artworks." the fewest, with only thirteen. Thirty-four of the seventy albums have between sixty-five and 116 photographs. The majority of the albums (fifty-eight out of seventy) are filled with what were known in the nineteenth century as "views."[8] These photographs present a range of subject matter: town- and cityscapes, specific architectural monuments, ancient structures or ruins, landscapes, seascapes, and people, both inside and outside the studio. Of the remaining twelve albums, eight are devoted primarily to reproductions of works of art or objects; one to a very specific subject, Alexandria following the British bombardment of 1882; and three contain photographs taken mostly by members of the Brassey party of their travels, as well as views of various ships.

Inside each album, the photographs are carefully arranged. They are neatly pasted in, generally centered on the page, or if more than one image appears on a page, placed in a symmetrical arrangement. Apart from some fading the photographs are generally in good condition. The images range in size from carte-de-visite to very large indeed, 34.3 × 26.4 cm ($13\frac{3}{4} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$ in.). Unfortunately the size of an image in the album is not a reliable indicator of its original size, since there is evidence on many pages that the photographs were trimmed. There are occasional variations from a rectangular format, as in Volume 62, "Turkey.," where the first page is devoted to an oval portrait of Sultan Abdul Aziz. Lady Brassey's own photographs take a variety of formats, sometimes rather small, approximately 14.1 × 8.6 cm with a possible variation of up to about a centimeter in either dimension, and often larger, approximately 25.4 × 19.3 (again, these dimensions vary somewhat).[9] Depending on their size, the number of images on each page may vary from one to six, or even twelve for the cartes-de-visite.[10] Occasionally the images, nearly all of which appear to be albumen prints, have been colored.[11]

The subject of many of the photographs is provided in a neatly written black ink label below the image. Three or four people apparently wrote the ink labels, since several different hands can be identified, although there is usually only one hand in each album. Other albums have penciled labels, in a different hand, which were obviously written with less care than the captions in ink.[12] Several albums have no labels at all, for instance Volumes 34 (Egypt) and 69 (Amateur Photos) but most have at least some of their contents identified. Even in albums in which most of the images are labeled, some photographs on a page may be identified and others left without labels, perhaps because no one knew their subjects. It is clear, however, that the person responsible for the labeling was not always familiar with the subjects

of the images, for there are occasional mistakes, as for instance in Volume 62, when on page 50 the Selimiye Mosque in Edirne is identified as St Sophia in Istanbul. Sometimes place or building names are spelled differently in the album label for an image, and the caption of the printed version of that image in one of Lady Brassey's books.[13] Not surprisingly, English place names and spelling are generally used in the captions, as when Rumeli Hisar, the Ottoman fortifications on the Bosporus, are identified as the "Castles of Europe" in Volume 62.

The organization of thousands of often unlabeled photographs into seventy albums is no small feat, and it would be very satisfying to know exactly who was responsible for this job. The different handwriting styles in the albums tell us that more than one person was writing in them. The penciled labels are more like notations, written perhaps by a family member to identify people or places from a particular voyage. The labels written in ink seem to represent an attempt at a more thorough and informative identification of the subjects of the photographs. The same handwriting which appears in a number of the albums also occurs in the museum register, now in the collection of the Hastings Museum, which records the objects acquired by the Brasseys on their voyages. Organized into seventeen different categories (arms/armour, lace, ethnological specimens, corals, paintings, and so on), the register includes information about where and when an object was purchased, its price, and its location at the time that the catalogue was written, either at Normanhurst, the Park Lane Museum, or elsewhere. The objects in the Brassey collection were also the subject of several short published catalogues, which generally coincided with a public exhibition of part of the collection.[14] The catalogues were written between 1878 and 1885, primarily by Bryce McMurdo Wright, who was associated with the Brassey family and their collections for some time. It is possible that it was he who compiled the museum register, and thus also had a part in the production of the photograph albums.[15] However, there could also have been others who were involved to some extent in organizing the photographs, since the Brasseys employed a number of secretaries to help with correspondence and other office work generated by their political and charitable undertakings.

In the analysis of the album contents which follows, I am assuming that it was Lady Brassey who was the driving force behind the album project. This assumption is based on the facts that it was she who wrote the travel books, collected the objects for the museum, and was the one in the family proficient in photography. Lord Brassey had political responsibilities, and while they were traveling at least, was also concerned with the yacht and its navigation. His considerable writings clearly indicate that his interests were in the political realm, particularly with naval affairs. Moreover, the production of the albums or the expansion of the Brassey collection did not continue after her death. So while Lady Brassey may not have placed every image in the album herself it is

my assertion that she was directing the project. Her hand can thus be seen in the acquisition of the enormous number of photographs which fill the albums, the general division of the photographs into subject categories, and to some degree in the arrangement of the photographs within an individual album.

My analysis of the albums considered here also assumes a high degree of intentionality on the part of album compilers in the choice of images to be included and in their arrangement.[16] In other words, I do not believe that photograph albums are random assemblages of disparate images. These ideas will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter, but for now it is also important to remember that for most albums, including the Brassey albums, the issue of order in the arrangement of the photographs is a relative one. That is, with very few exceptions, even the most careful of organizing schemes breaks down at some point in an album, often with the insertion of an image which was perhaps overlooked or temporarily misplaced and thus appears to disrupt a narrative, chronological, or geographic sequence. In my view, this kind of disruption should be read as a signal of the difficulties of (re-)creating in an album format a single, ordered reality from what were lived, complex, variable, and even chaotic experiences.

To return now to our examination of the Brassey albums, although the circumstances surrounding their actual assembling remain unclear to some extent, more information can be pieced together concerning the manufacture or acquisition of many of the photographs in the albums. It is in this regard that the existence of Lady Brassey's published travel books is especially important. The vast majority of photograph albums reach us today with virtually no information about how, when or why the images they contain were acquired. However, a careful reading of Lady Brassey's five books, as well as a comparison of the illustrations of the books and the photographs of the albums yields insight into Lady Brassey's own photographic activities. There are also some references to the purchase of photographs, or the work of others with whom they were traveling. Of course, some questions remain unanswered (for example, it is disappointing that there are no explicit references to the album project in any of Lady Brassey's writing), and one always wishes for more specific information.

The photographers of the majority of the 6,000 or so images in the Brassey albums are not identified. In other words, most of the negatives are unsigned. Since many of the photographs were trimmed before they were pasted into the volumes, the lack of a signature does not necessarily mean that an image was not a commercial product. The photographers of some unsigned images, in fact, can be definitely identified because of the existence of identical images in other collections or in another publication.[17] However, there are very many images for which the photographer is not known.

A certain percentage of these were no doubt taken by Lady Brassey herself. Although she makes virtually no mention of photography in *In the Trades*, there

are references to either taking or purchasing photographs scattered through her other four books. Amateur photography in the 1870s and 1880s required a considerable amount of equipment, but apparently this did not deter Lady Brassey in her enthusiastic pursuit of photography. The *Sunbeam* had a darkroom on board, but even on her 1872 North American trip, when she traveled on commercial steamer, private yacht, and train, Lady Brassey made photographs. In some cases, conditions for photography were less than ideal and the results were disappointing: "The photographic groups, which have been taken and developed under difficulties [aboard the steamer], have not turned out so well as we could have wished."[18] Other attempts were more successful, as on this evening in the St Louis Hotel in Quebec: "After dinner we amused ourselves by developing a great many photographic negatives, with considerable success."[19] In fact, the photographs from Lady Brassey's North American trip which are included in the albums and in *Eothen* are undistinguished at best, often out of focus, faded, and oddly composed. Her skill in photography appears to improve, to judge by her work in other albums, although there were still setbacks. She mentions having difficulties in *Sunshine and Storm*, in 1874:

> Having had a good deal of trouble with our photographs, and not knowing exactly where the fault lay, we asked the General to allow the head of the photographic department here (Cadiz) to come on board for a few hours to help us. He accordingly arrived at 7 a.m. while it was still cool and fresh, before the sun had come over the Rock, and gave us what I think will be some useful hints about the chemicals, exposure, &c; but I much fear, from what he says, that there is something wrong with the plates themselves, in which case nothing remains but to hope that the next lot sent out from England may turn out better.[20]

On the earlier voyages, Lady Brassey took and developed photographs herself, as numerous passages indicate. In 1877 as their party was preparing to leave Hawaii, she writes, "I was on deck at six o'clock, in order to take some photographs and ..."[21] On her last voyage, however, when she was often very ill, much of the photographic work was done by others. The fact that Lady Brassey no longer does the developing and printing of the images is confirmed by this passage:

> We have now resumed our usual life-at-sea habits. ... After an early breakfast we settle down to our several occupations – the children to lessons, till it is time for sights to be taken and calculations made; Mr. Pritchett elaborates the sketches which he has made on shore during our recent wanderings ... Later on he [the Doctor] kindly gives the children a lesson in arithmetic, while Mr. des Graz, assisted by Prior, spends a considerable time in developing, printing, and toning the photographs which we have taken. I have always plenty to do in the way of writing, reading and general supervision.[22]

Some of Lady Brassey's photographs can be identified by matching illustrations from her books which are labeled with her name. For instance, in

Sunshine and Storm, twelve illustrations are described as being photographs "by Mrs. Brassey," which allows the positive identification of those photographs in the albums.[23] Others can be tentatively assigned to her or her shipmates on the basis of what she says in the corresponding text. In *The Last Voyage*, describing their departure from Burma, Lady Brassey writes,

> ... who had kindly sent us parting presents of fruit, jams, curries, curios, and the most lovely orchids, the latter of which in such profusion that they were suspended all along the boom, causing the quarter deck to look more like one of Mr. Bull's orchid exhibitions than part of a vessel. We photographed some of them with great success, and with our gods from the caves in the background, they will make an effective picture.[24]

Volume 14 contains two images corresponding to this description, one of which is illustrated in Fig. 3.2. These photographs, impromptu still lifes of objects close at hand, as well the views of life on board ship, scenery taken from the ship, and many images of Brassey yachts which fill Volumes 68, 69, and 70, were primarily the work of Lady Brassey, family members, and guests on various trips.[25]

While Lady Brassey was very ill for much of her last voyage, her enthusiasm for photography was undiminished, although her direct participation was of necessity curtailed. In *The Last Voyage*, she makes numerous references to taking photographs. The albums containing images of Australia, India, and Burma, which Lady Brassey visited only once, on that voyage, are filled primarily with photographs which are not signed, many of which could have been taken by Lady Brassey or other members of her party. In the seven albums of photographs from Australia, for instance, only 148 photographs can be positively identified as the work of commercial photographers, while 634 images are not signed. A number of the photographs in the Australian albums seem to correspond to events recorded in *The Last Voyage*. Take, for example, this entry from August 26: "We took some photographs of the groups of natives and of the curious native boat, hollowed out of a single trunk, which were lying pulled up on the shore before us."[26] This appears to describe the subjects of the two photographs on the first page of Volume 6, a view of four women and three babies in front of a rough tent, and an image of three of the canoes mentioned in the text, although in this case the canoes and their inhabitants are in the water near the shore, not pulled up on the shore as the text describes (Fig. 3.3).

It is perhaps possible that more research into standard negative and print sizes used by commercial photographers in this period may allow some of Lady Brassey's images to be identified on the basis of their size. Again, the fact that the photographs have often been trimmed presents a problem. Additionally, a close examination of the photographs listed in the catalogues of the commercial photographers represented in the Brassey collection may allow the identification of others of the unsigned images.

Fig. 3.2 Volume 14, page 30.

The photographers whose work can be identified in the albums are generally the well-known commercial photographers of the region where the images were purchased. From the Canadian material, for instance, the work of William Notman, proprietor of the largest photography business in Canada in this period, as well as that of two other photographers active in Montreal in the early 1870s, Alexander Henderson and Charles Horetsky, is easily recognizable. Giorgio Sommer was a very successful Italian photographer based in Naples, whose work appears in three of the albums containing views of Italy, Switzerland, and Austria (Volumes 40, 42, and 61). Pascal Sebah, William Hammerschmidt, Béchard, and Tancrède Dumas were all, particularly Sebah, well known for their images of Egypt and other regions of the Middle East. On the other hand, none of the well-known and

Fig. 3.3 Volume 6, page 1.

apparently very successful commercial photographers in Japan have been included in Volumes 10 or 11, or at least, if they were, their signatures were trimmed from their photographs.

References to the purchase or acquisition of photographs are tantalizingly few in Lady Brassey's books. The only professional photographers who are mentioned by name are William Notman and Alexander Henderson, both of Montreal. Typically, Lady Brassey's comments about purchasing photographs are unfortunately very uninformative as in these passages, from Monday, October 12, 1874, in Athens, "We went to one or two shops, bought some photographs, and then ...",[27] or from *A Voyage in the "Sunbeam"*, "After dinner, there was nothing to do except to stroll about the town and buy photographs. They are extremely good in Chili – both views and portraits – but

proportionately dear, the price being double what would be charged in London or Paris for the same thing."[28] The Brasseys were given gifts everywhere they went: flowers, fresh produce, birds and small animals, locally made objects or clothing, and occasionally, photographs. In Australia for example, "After an excellent luncheon of good things produced upon the station, we spent a pleasant time looking over a capital collection of photographs, some of which Mr. Macfarlane very kindly gave us."[29] Although we do learn something about the circumstances under which the photographs in the albums were produced or acquired, it is impossible not to wish for more detailed, complete information about where and from whom the photographs were purchased, as well as more about the equipment and techniques used by Lady Brassey and her assistants.

The Brassey albums contain 637 photographs of the Middle East, divided among eight albums, providing a rich and diverse view of the region. We will begin our survey of this major collection of nineteenth-century photography of the Middle East with a look at just five of the images, touching on issues which will emerge more fully as the rest of the chapter unfolds. This preliminary examination reveals the extent to which the collection is at the same time encyclopedic and discontinuous, as was the Brasseys' understanding of what they were seeing.

It goes without saying that the Brasseys' view of the Middle East was mediated by their experiences there, so we will start our brief overview of their albums with Fig. 3.4, which shows Lady Brassey and her daughters on a dahabiyeh on the Nile in 1883. Viewing the antiquities along the Nile from the vantage point of a comfortably furnished sailing vessel rented complete with crew was a popular experience among British visitors in this period. Lady Brassey had decided to spend several months in Egypt during the winter of 1882–83 for health reasons, and indeed her journal indicates that she felt very much improved in the warm, dry climate. This image of their voyage along the Nile, included in the album of photographs of Alexandria, documents their dahabiyeh, the *Gazelle*, with Lady Brassey and her traveling party on the upper deck and the crew standing elsewhere on the vessel. This experience was one of the few times when Lady Brassey would have had extensive contact with local residents, since they traveled with the same crew of ten or fifteen men for their voyage of about two weeks. Her journal accounts of this trip are enthusiastic, recounting peaceful days on the river, interspersed with short periods spent on land to view the various tombs and archaeological sites they encountered. As did her travels in the *Sunbeam*, sailing in the *Gazelle*, with its comfortable cabins and professional crew, allowed Lady Brassey and her family to remain somewhat detached from the lives of ordinary people as they floated along in their private world.

The Middle East as a place was, for the Brasseys, a setting for antiquities, as well as a region which was at the same time exotic and modern. Thus their

Fig. 3.4 Volume 31, page 48.

albums contain many views of Egyptian antiquities, both *in situ* and in a museum setting (Fig. 3.5). This photograph is one of a series of sixty-eight which present the collection of the Bulak Museum, an important repository of antiquities created by the Khedive Said Pasha in 1854, whose first director was the French archaeologist Auguste Mariette.[30] The photograph, a sharply focused and legible image, shows us a collection of small statuary neatly displayed in cases and a gallery which reveal a museum aesthetic very much a part of contemporary museum practice in Europe and North America. This

Fig. 3.5 Volume 29, page 44.

image embodies two simultaneous realities, on the one hand foregrounding the antiquities which were so much a part of the region's importance for the Brasseys and other visitors, while on the other demonstrating an engagement with modernity, as Egyptians sought to control the preservation and presentation of their own history using contemporary practice.

The pyramids and temples along the Nile drew the Brasseys and others to Egypt, but it was modern Cairo which provided the setting for much of their visits, and received a great deal of their attention. For much of the nineteenth century, the modernization of Cairo was a primary goal of the Egyptian rulers, and their efforts had a significant impact on the city. European visitors generally chose to stay in the modern neighborhoods, in newly constructed hotels on wide boulevards with theaters, shops, and gardens nearby. In Fig. 3.6 we see one such place, the Azbakiya gardens as they were re-created by the French landscape designer Barillet-Deschamps, hired by Khedive Ismail

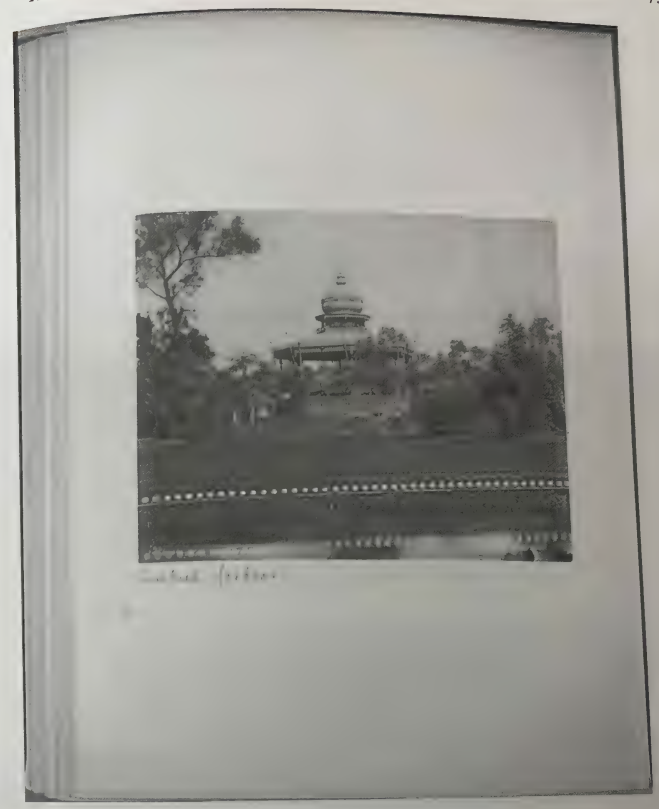


Fig. 3.6 Volume 32, page 37.

Pasha in the 1860s. This photograph, taken by Emile Béchard, is a straightforward composition devoid of people with its central image one of the several newly constructed pavilions of the garden. Lady Brassey, and as we will see in the following chapter, other album compilers, apparently moved easily between the modern reality of Egypt and the antiquities they came to visit, including both in their photographic assemblages.

The people of the Middle East as they appear in the Brassey albums are at the same time less numerous and more varied than we might expect, based on modern publications of Middle Eastern photographs. For the Brasseys, meaningful personal contact with the people of Egypt and Turkey was limited to members of the elite, few of whose photographs appear in the albums. One exception is Fig. 3.7, an image entitled "An Ambassador's Caique," from the

Fig. 3.7 Volume 62, page 16.

volume of photographs of Turkey. Perhaps the work of Lady Brassey herself, this slightly out of focus photograph shows a long caique with ten oarsmen as it takes off from the European side of the Bosporus.[31] The number of oarsmen, the flag flown by the vessel, the small group of onlookers, as well as the title of the photograph and Lady Brassey's presence at the scene all indicate a caique belonging to a notable, and an event in which Lady Brassey was perhaps personally involved.

The ordinary inhabitants of Egypt appear in the Brassey albums engaged in their daily activities, as these were represented through photographs. The languorous harem women and idle men of some commercial photographs make few appearances in the Brassey albums. Instead we see working men and women, as well as some portraits or "types," all apparently included in

Fig. 3.8 Volume 32, page 12.

an effort to document an aspect of Egypt essential for an understanding of the region, just as views of antiquities or modern Cairo were considered essential in its photographic presentation. In Fig. 3.8, for example, we see three women, two carrying water jugs and one with a child on her shoulder, photographed by Sebah as they seem to be leaving a house to fetch water. Dressed in long black street wear, the women appear to be in motion, with two turning to look out of the picture at the viewer. This presentation of Egyptian women as mothers engaged in the work of their everyday lives is strikingly different from the stereotypical harem girl familiar from other contexts, but for Lady Brassey it was a dominant image of women, as we will see as we move through a more detailed examination of the albums.

As an amateur photographer, and enthusiastic consumer of commercial photographs, Lady Brassey was very much a part of the photographic mainstream, and it is essential to place her album project in the context of

contemporary photographic practice, in this case, in the Middle East. Within months of the nearly simultaneous announcement of the invention of photography in Paris and London in 1839, photographers had set off all over the world to "make pictures," as it was called then. Although their very earliest efforts, particularly in the Middle East, were directed towards the documentation of antiquities, it was not long before the commercial value of the new medium was realized. The ever increasing numbers of European and American tourists traveling all over the globe, and the nineteenth-century mania for collecting encouraged the rapid growth of commercial photography in popular tourist destinations such as Rome, Cairo, Jerusalem, Beirut, and Constantinople, as well as elsewhere.[32] The images produced were disseminated in a variety of ways: in the photographically illustrated book, in books whose illustrations were based on photographs, in lectures, exhibitions, and in magazines and illustrated newspapers. As the numbers of tourists visiting the Middle East grew, more photographers began selling their work in local shops rather than marketing it at home. Tourists purchased photographs as souvenirs, generally assembling their images into albums to be displayed to friends and families. From the hundreds, perhaps thousands of views of the landscape, monuments, and people of a particular place that would have been available in the local shops, the consumer chose a selection of photographs which best matched his or her ideas, conceptions, and experiences of the region. The photographs which were chosen to be taken home would have corroborated the stories told by the returning travelers and reinforced their fading mental images of what they had seen. Over time the photographs would become their memories, and for those who did not travel, but saw only the photographs, the images were a substitute for travel itself.

The photographs thus had a central role in creating knowledge about a place and its people, but the process was complex and the knowledge variable and contingent. The photographers each had their own relationship to the subject matter they photographed which shaped its presentation. Those purchasing the photographs could only see through the professional photographer's lens since in this period few tourists took their own photographs. Yet once the photograph existed, it had its own life as a document. Rather than telling one story, the one the photographer may have intended, the image could tell many stories, depending on who was looking. Interpreted in one way as part of a travel narrative, the photograph would have had other meanings for those not so directly involved in the subject matter and the circumstances surrounding its production.

Despite the fact that many thousands of photographs were produced by the commercial studios in the Middle East between about 1860 and 1890, it is often difficult to reconstruct the work and careers of individual photographers or studios. The business was very competitive, business names, locations, and associations changed frequently, and negatives, often signed, were sold from

one company to another. In addition, the systematic collection of nineteenth-century photography is relatively recent. It has been nearly impossible to establish a complete catalogue of the work of any one photographer, or even to isolate a core corpus of securely dated and attributed images.[33] Furthermore, published studies of this body of material can only illustrate a small fraction of the total numbers of photographs which are known to have been in circulation. Scholars, as well as the interested public, have, therefore, to view the work of nineteenth-century photographers through the eyes of the authors and editors who have decided which photographs to include and which to exclude in their publications.[34]

Obviously the subject of any book should determine, at least to some extent, the choice of illustrations.[35] Thus for example, monographs on the work of a single photographer would aim to provide a representative sample of the oeuvre of that person. And indeed, in Engin Çizgen's book on Ali Sami, the late Ottoman photographer, or Leif Wigh's work on G. Berggren, the Swedish photographer who lived for most of his life in Istanbul, we find a range of subject matter in the photographs which are reproduced: portraits of friends, family, and strangers, antiquities, tourist sites, street life, and the new buildings of the nineteenth-century city. Ali Sami in particular, as a military photographer for the Ottoman government, recorded Ottoman modernity in family life, in the government, and in the city. In some monographs, a representative sample of the photographer's work is not necessarily the aim, as in a 1980 work on Frith, in which the person responsible for selecting illustrations writes, "I have tried to choose those which are pictorially striking and which also shed a piquant light on the archaeological or cultural conditions of the Near East in the middle of the nineteenth century."[36] Those choices might well have excluded photographs which did not conform to his own expectations of what a "piquant light [shed] on the archaeological or cultural conditions" would look like; for instance, newly built hotels, palaces, or mosques.

Apart from monographs, book-length works on the history of photography in the Middle East take a variety of forms: photo essays on a particular subject, exhibition catalogues, which may or may not be publications of a specific collection (written in some cases by the collector), surveys which attempt to cover a wide swath of photo history in the region, and focused studies of particular topics in the photo history of the region. With the exception of a few authors who construct their subject to include modernity[37] and the two surveys by Çizgen and Perez, most publications on this topic privilege views of the region which emphasize the ancient and medieval sites, the picturesque, the exotic.[38] The modern Middle East of the second half of the nineteenth century, with new building and new forms of urban planning, new modes of dress, new means of production and transportation, new educational and social institutions is generally conspicuously absent (with the

fairly predictable exception of a few views of Alexandria, the Suez Canal, and one or two palaces).[39] Moreover, authors rarely discuss how the selection of images to be included in their publications was made – was there an attempt to be representative (however that could be defined), and if not, what were the criteria for selection?

It is thus not surprising that one leaves this body of photographic material with a certain impression of the Middle East, which corroborates much of what is written about the region by European visitors in the nineteenth century,[40] but also confirms that our view of nineteenth-century photography in the Middle East has been profoundly affected by twentieth-century conceptions of the region. However, when we have the opportunity to examine entire collections, entire albums, or the catalogues which commercial photographers in the region published, a different sense of the photography emerges. Views of antiquities and religious sites appear together with modern buildings, newer parts of the cities, and other components of modernity. In the albums to be discussed in this chapter and the next, the photographs of "types" and native residents performing their traditional tasks which are a staple element in modern twentieth-century publications of nineteenth-century photography have a minor role. Moreover, the views of partially dressed or mostly undressed "Oriental" or harem women, which are the subject of entire books or book chapters (Alloula, Fleig), and appear in almost every modern publication, are almost completely absent from the albums.

I do not mean to suggest in the preceding discussion that the commercial photographers of the nineteenth-century Middle East did not participate in the construction of the region which has come to be known as Orientalist. Certainly they did. But they produced a range of views of their subjects, which must have been commercially viable, indicating that their ability to see the region from a variety of viewpoints was shared by their audience, tourist and local resident alike. The photographs selected for inclusion in the albums which are the basis of this study demonstrate a much more complex, diverse, and nuanced view of the Middle East on the part of tourist and commercial photographer than most of the publications discussed above allow us to understand.

In the end, whether we label these photographs as Orientalist should not be the most important aspect of our consideration of this body of material. As many authors have noted, photographs embody a range of meanings. James Ryan recently wrote:

> photographic meaning is not found lurking deep within the image, but is more akin to a projection flickering on a surface. While photographers, publishers and editors might attempt to condition the consumption of photographs through their books and lectures, they could neither determine fully nor limit the meanings that might be projected on to their images by their audience.[41]

Certainly all of the photographers and their images to be considered here participated in some ways in the Orientalist project: all were involved in a situation where power was unevenly distributed, where considerations of empire and imperialism were implicated in the relations between two cultures, and where assumptions of long standing and questionable accuracy affected how one group regarded another.

Having acknowledged this, how has our understanding of the photographs been furthered? It is my contention that we must examine the photographs much more carefully – rather than labeling them dismissively as Orientalist, they need to be contextualized and analyzed as the complex cultural documents they are. Each image required an initial interaction of individual photographer (usually not British) and subject, a selection and purchase by a consumer, and an organization into some kind of narrative sequence in an album by the consumer or someone else, as well as innumerable subsequent viewings by countless people, whose understandings and interpretations of the images are impossible to trace. The photograph exists as the tangible evidence of a whole series of interactions between people and cultures; the image itself and its role in constructing knowledge certainly deserves our full attention.

The Brassey collection contains two albums of photographs of North Africa, seven of Egypt, and one of Constantinople. In addition, views of Cyprus and Tangiers are included in other albums.[42] The collection is extremely significant for the study of commercial photography in the Middle East. The albums, with over 600 photographs of the Middle East, reveal a much wider range of subject matter than usually reproduced in modern publications. Since the photographs remain in their original configurations in the albums, we can see how they were compiled in order to create a particular view of the region. Further, the albums contain a very large number of labeled and signed images from two of the most important commercial photographers of the period, Pascal Sebah and Emile Béchard, as well as images by photographers whose work is much less widely known, particularly L. Fiorillo. Additionally, we know approximately when and by whom the photographs were purchased. From the point of view of the history of photography, it is unfortunate that the Brasseys journeyed so often to the Mediterranean because it is impossible to pinpoint the exact year in which their images of Egypt were purchased, as would be possible to do, for instance, if we were interested in dating the photographs acquired in North America. However, we can date the Middle East photographs in the Brassey albums roughly between the years of 1869 and 1886, which are the dates of Annie Brassey's first and last trips to the Mediterranean, and perhaps more specifically to those trips in which more time was spent in Egypt – 1869, 1877, and 1883 – and in Turkey – 1874 and 1878.[43]

A careful examination of this body of images, 637 photographs, provides new information about commercial photographers active in the region and

their work. Because the Brasseys assembled such an extensive collection of photographs of Egypt, the commercial photography from Cairo and Alexandria is brought to light in a much more concentrated way than is usually possible in smaller collections. We learn of the range of subject matter and style which characterized the work of commercial photographers at this point, as well as how the Brasseys chose to construct their view of Egypt. What did they emphasize in their albums and what did they leave out? What can the way they organized the photographs into albums tell us about how they thought? What was the point of assembling these images?

These photographs could be used to answer so many different kinds of questions that any discussion of them is almost certain to be chaotic. There is so much to look at in the photographs: subject matter, photographic technique and style, interaction between photographer and subject, the way the photographs are juxtaposed with one another, the relationship between text and image on the album pages, and on and on. All of these aspects of the albums emerge at one time or another, or even all at once, in the following discussion of the photographs. As much as possible, I have looked in the albums and at the photographs to see what merited specific attention, rather than beginning with a definite agenda for discussion.

Egypt

The same encyclopedic approach to collecting which is evident in the Brassey museum collection, and reflected in Lady Brassey's accounts of their travels, is visible in the way in which Egypt is documented in the seven albums which contain images of Egypt. The Brasseys collected an enormous number of photographs which illustrate Egyptian sights, and carefully organized them by subject.[44] Thus, one volume illustrates antiquities in the Bulak Museum, another two show the antiquities of ancient Egypt along the Nile, and a fourth contains primarily views of buildings in Cairo from the Islamic periods. Two albums show the people of Egypt, and scenes of Egyptian life in Cairo and the surrounding areas. The seventh album contains views of Alexandria, primarily documenting the effects of the British bombardment of the city in 1882. With a total of 519 images, this is certainly one of the largest intact collections of nineteenth-century commercial photography of Egypt.

Volumes 33 and 34

Volumes 33 and 34[45] together contain a total of 138 photographs, of which seven are views of Syria[46] and the rest are of Egypt. Most are what we could call documentary views of the antiquities: straightforward in presentation, not particularly picturesque, occasionally with a person in sight, but certainly not as the primary focus of the image.[47] Volume 34 is completely filled with this type of image, with sixty-three of the sixty-eight photographs the work of Sebah.[48] These, together with the thirty-three views of ancient monuments in Volume 33, provide a thorough record of both the monuments considered important sites to visit, and their condition in this period.

In Volume 33 the order in which sites appear is not related to their actual geographic position – the first sites are Karnak and Thebes, then Philae and Edfu to the south, Saqqara to the north, then the pyramids, back to Saqqara, then far to the south to Nubia, and so on. With the exception of a group of images of the pyramids, discussed below, the arrangement of these photographs within their larger category, antiquities, appears random. The captions which appear below all but one of the photographs in this album are written in pencil, and generally repeat the information given in the label on the photograph itself. One photograph, of Alexandria (which seems out of place in this volume of views of antiquities), has "Obelisk of Cleopatra Alexandria?" written below it, an apparent confirmation of the fact that the person who actually compiled the photographs into albums was not particularly knowledgeable about the sites pictured in the images.

Geography had a larger part in the organization of Volume 34. The first two photographs are from the sites of Dendura and Abydos, just north of Thebes and Karnak, which follow next in the album. From there the sites in the photographs move in a reasonably orderly progression towards the south, ending with a view of Abu Simbel and one of Dakka. The last fourteen pages of the album are filled with photographs from Dendera, Karnak, and Luxor, nearly all of which are duplicates of photographs which appear earlier in the album, or in Volume 33. All but four of the photographs in this album have legible labels on the images themselves which allow for their organization, and there is no additional labeling on any of the pages.

Since the vast majority of the images in these two albums are the work of Pascal Sebah, we are provided with a uniform way of looking at the monuments, and also a very extensive sample of a major aspect of Sebah's oeuvre.[49] Sebah photographed the major sites of ancient Egypt exhaustively – that is clear from the numbers of photographs from various parts of Thebes, Karnak, Edfu, Philae, and Giza which are included in these two volumes. There are many similar but slightly different views of the same subject. In some cases, the differences between two views of the same site seem intended to give the purchasers a choice – for example, between a view of the Colossi of Memnon taken slightly from the left or slightly from the right. In other cases, the differences between two photographs seem trivial, and may have more to do with business practices than aesthetics. Sebah was in business for several decades, and his photographs were widely distributed, both in his own store in Constantinople and in others. According to Perez, his

Fig. 3.9 Volume 33, page 6.

negative numbering system extended into the four hundreds.[50] While he probably did not take hundreds of photographs of ancient monuments on his first trip to Egypt, it is entirely likely that on subsequent trips, either by Sebah himself or by his assistants, that near duplicate views of the same site could be produced. Variations in the details of script, numbering, and signature on photographs with Sebah's signature would also seem to indicate changes made over time, as well as the involvement of different hands in labeling the photographs.

Two pairs of photographs from these two volumes give a good idea of both Sebah's photographic style and the range of variation in his labels. On page 6 of Volume 33 there is a view of the Ramesseum at Thebes, labeled

Fig. 3.10 Volume 34, page 31.

"141. Thebes. Rhamesseion." in the lower left corner, and "P. Sébah" in the lower right. Both parts of the label are in the same slightly backhanded printed script. A nearly identical view of the same sight appears in Volume 34 on page 31 (Figs 3.9 and 3.10). This photograph has a two-line inscription in the lower left corner which reads, "No. 82. Rhamesseion a Thebes. Cariatides et la Statue de Rhamses II.," and one in the lower right which says "P. Sebah, Phot:." While the longer label on the left is written in the same hand as those on the previous example, the second one is written in a cursive script.

A second comparison shows a slightly different kind of label variation (Figs 3.11 and 3.12). The same photograph appears on page 6 and on page 60 of Volume 34. The label on the photograph on page 60 reads "111. Karnak. Gd. Temple. Salle Hypostile. Int." and "P. Sebah," all in backhand printed

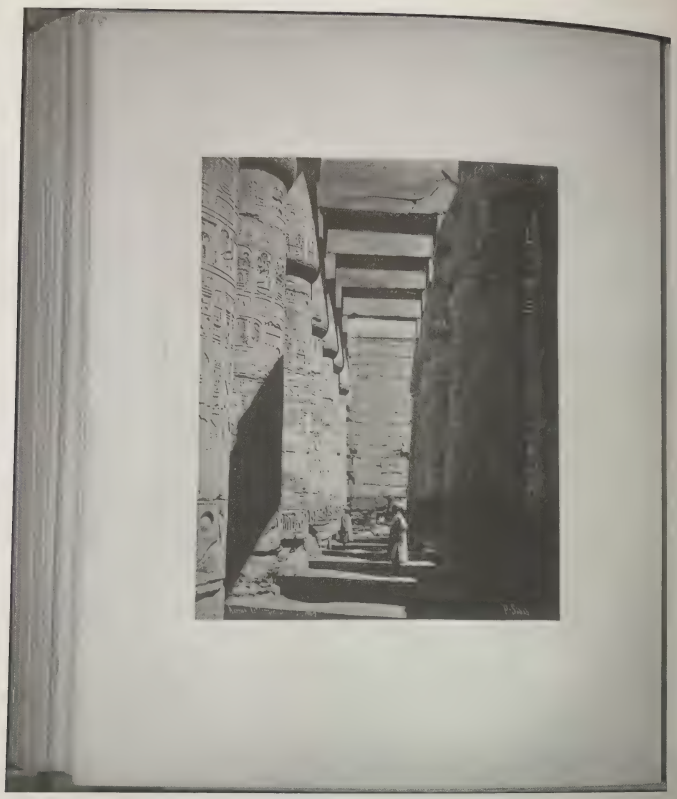


Fig. 3.11 Volume 34, page 60.

script. On page 6, the exact same photograph has a label which reads (in two lines) "No. 60 Temple de KARNAK. Interieur de la Salle Hypostile" and on the right side, "P. Sebah, Phot." In this case half of the left label and the photographer's name are in script, and the rest is in the printed hand. There are numerous other examples of similarly close, but slightly different labels on the Sebah photographs, but these two comparisons give us a sense of the kinds of variations which occur.

Why bother looking in such detail at these labels? There are a number of reasons. For one thing, it has so far proven extremely difficult to reconstruct the history of photography in the Middle East. The more we know about each photographer, the further along we are in assembling that history. The labels on photographs were often partially trimmed off when the photographs were assembled into albums, so being able to identify the work of a particular

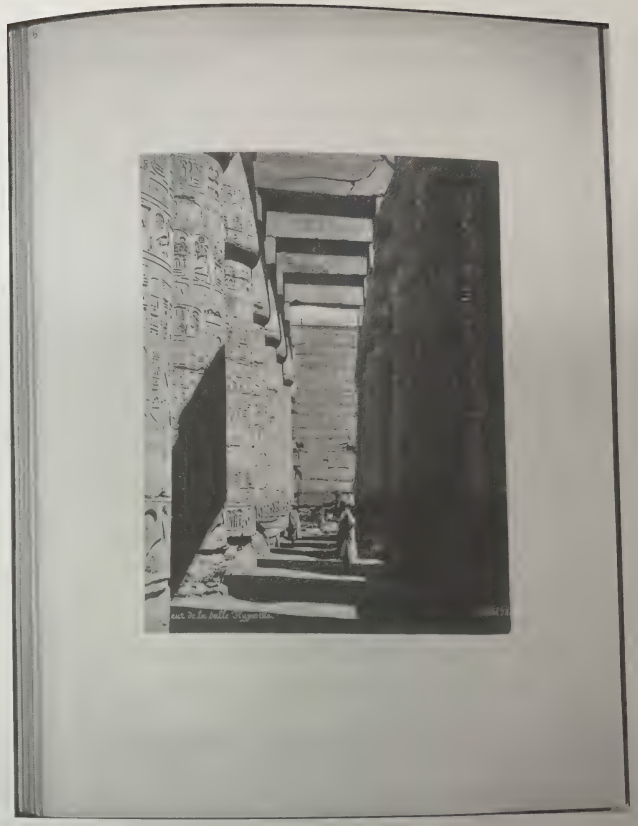


Fig. 3.12 Volume 34, page 6.

photographer on the basis of an incomplete label requires a close familiarity with all of the possible variations.

Most of the available evidence indicates that the business practices of photographers in the Middle East were chaotic, or at least that is the way they appear from this distance. Numbering systems on negatives are one way of attempting to reconstruct a chronology of the career of one particular photographer. Looking at different hands in the labels may also give us a sense of studio practice, and may point to the work of assistants in some cases. Furthermore, since photographers are known to have bought and sold negatives among themselves, careful tracking of labels may help in sorting out work which should actually be attributed to a particular photographer, as opposed to that which he merely sold under his own name.[51] While we will

not pursue our investigation of Sebah's labeling any further, it is entirely possible that such an investigation could lead to some interesting insights into his career.

The four photographs we looked at above in terms of their labels are also useful for getting an idea of how Sebah approached the task of recording the monuments of ancient Egypt. The view of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, which we saw twice, is, for Sebah, an unusually dramatic view of the subject. This sense of drama is achieved partly through composition, in the way that the subject fills the entire space of the picture, emphasizing the monumentality of the columns. This impression of their great size is further enhanced by the figures of the two men who stand formally posed on either side of the central aisle. The light and shadow within the picture contribute to its dramatic impact, particularly in comparison to many of Sebah's other photographs, which have much more even tones.

Although nearly all of the architectural sites of ancient Egypt have the same potential for dramatic presentation, Sebah generally chose a much more pedestrian approach to these monuments, which is exemplified in the two nearly identical views of the Ramesseum at Thebes discussed above. In each case the photographer stands far enough away from the subject to allow open space on both sides of the frame. Unless the scale of the building prevents it, the horizon line is generally somewhere in the middle third of the picture. This allows a wide expanse of sky, which given the technical limitations of the time, would always appear as clear and light in tone. The range of tonal contrast in most of Sebah's architectural work is limited, which decreases the sense of drama. The primary subject, a building or ruin, is in focus and legible in Sebah's work, but the photographs, perhaps because of his careful attention to siting and controlled tonality, have a businesslike air which reduces their impact as photographs, and the impact of the subject itself.

Among the photographs of the temples of Karnak and Edfu, Volume 33 contains a series of twenty views of the pyramids and Sphinx at Giza, the Nile both near the pyramids and further south at Aswan, palm groves, and other rural subjects. Twelve of these photographs are signed by Sebah, two are by Emile Béchard, and six are unsigned. Some of these may perhaps be the work of Lady Brassey herself. The largest group of these photographs, fourteen views of the pyramids and surrounding area, are on consecutive pages and are bracketed by photographs of tourists ascending and descending the pyramids. They thus seem to have been conceived of as a set, documenting the experience of visiting the pyramids, or perhaps constructing a certain image of them, incorporating the timelessness and tranquillity which was supposed to have been a part of ancient Egypt as it was described by travel writers in the nineteenth century.[52]

The physical interaction of tourists with the actual monuments is recorded in this album with four photographs. Three of these show a party of tourists

climbing up one of the pyramids at Giza and down again, assisted by a number of Egyptians (there are two copies of the photograph which shows the descent). It is tempting to identify these tourists as part of the Brassey party, especially since Lady Brassey mentions waiting at the bottom while her children climbed the pyramid, but the "ascent" half of this pair is also in the collection of the Museum voor Volkenkunde, Rotterdam.[53] Similar views of tourists climbing the pyramids were in the collections of most commercial photographers and versions by Henri Béchard, G. Lekegian, and Abdullah Frères appear in various publications.[54] Another photograph, which appears on the facing page to one of the "descent" images, shows a group of men dressed in military uniforms (which include kilts) grouped carefully around the base of the Sphinx. Again, we might assume that this commemorates a specific experience of the Brasseys in Egypt except for the fact that this photograph too is reproduced elsewhere, where the subject is identified as "Scottish Regiment in front of Sphinx."[55] Similar photographs, of a military group posed against the dramatic background of the Sphinx and the pyramids, were made by H. Arnoux, perhaps by L. Fiorillo, and no doubt by others.[56] According to Perez, the photograph he convincingly attributes to Fiorillo is a view of some of the occupying forces of the British army in 1882. While it is not clear that the Scottish Regiment was in fact part of this army of occupation at the time the photograph was made, such photographs should be read as demonstrating the interest in and desire for possession of Egypt, as typified by its most famous monuments, on the part of the military who had their photographs taken at those sites, as well as by the foreigners who subsequently purchased the photographs.

There are five images in Volume 33 in which Egyptian people are the primary subject, inserted apparently randomly among photographs of ancient monuments. Four of these are views of Sudanese or Nubians standing in a outdoor setting, women carrying water, and a village pottery works, three signed by Sebah and one unsigned. The fifth, also unsigned, is a view of an Egyptian execution, showing a man hanging from a makeshift gallows in a small clearing, with a group of people standing around. On the page below the photograph the caption reads, "A Native Execution Cairo (Outside)." The same photograph is reproduced in Faber, identified as the work of an anonymous photographer, dated *c.* 1870–90.[57] While images of executions are unusual, and rarely reproduced in contemporary publications, their production by commercial photographers indicates a certain level of interest in such subjects on the part of the buying public.[58]

The photographs in Volumes 33 and 34 present an unusually extensive range of images of the ancient sites of Egypt, as will be even more evident when we look at albums compiled by others, in the following chapter. Taken as a group, these photographs are quite typical of what most tourists of the period bought, and what appears in twentieth-century publications of this

material. In their sheer quantity, the photographs in these two volumes reveal something of Lady Brassey's approach to her museum, writing, and album projects, her reading in advance of visiting a certain region, and her desire to be as comprehensive as possible in visiting and documenting her travels. The images in the two albums lay out the sites of ancient Egypt in a matter of fact way, arranged as if they were an open-air museum for the education of visitors, and posit a certain relationship between the visitors and the sites, with the inclusion of the few images which show people climbing the pyramids or arranged at the base of the Sphinx. With their thorough coverage of these monuments, the albums would have been envisaged as an important addition to the other didactic material which was being assembled for Lady Brassey's museum.

Volume 29

Lady Brassey complemented her photo collection of Egyptian architectural antiquities by compiling a volume illustrating the contents of the Bulak Museum, the main Egyptian repository in the late nineteenth century for the jewelry, sculpture, and other objects being removed from the ancient sites.[59] Seven of the sixty-eight images in Volume 29 show the museum garden or galleries, but all of the other photographs show the objects themselves, either singly or in groups, depending on their size. This presentation of ancient Egyptian art, in faded photographs displaying many pieces in the same image, is uninspiring to the twenty-first-century viewer accustomed to dramatically lighted colour shots, but it does give us a very good idea of the extent of the Bulak collection in this period. In the straightforward, almost tedious illustration of the collection, these photographs resemble those from other museums which are included in some of the Brassey albums devoted to European subjects.

The first photograph in the album shows the museum garden, complete with a number of pieces of sculpture, and later in the album there are six images of the interior of the building. Two in particular give especially clear views of the museum galleries and are thus very good evidence of a late nineteenth-century museum aesthetic. As noted above, these images simultaneously embody Egypt's antiquity and its modernity, in their presentation of the material evidence of the ancient past in the contemporary setting of the modern museum. Lady Brassey's interest in this series of photographs, and her decision to devote an entire album to them, is indicative of her own interest in archaeology and of her acceptance of this museum as on a par with those elsewhere whose photographs are included in her other albums.

Sixteen of the fifty-nine pages in the album have labels on the page below the photograph, carefully written in black ink. In eleven of these examples, the ink label is a translation (with some liberties) of the information provided in the label written on the photograph itself. In all cases, the labels are short, with no indication that there was any expert knowledge involved in their creation. Indeed, the museum is mislabeled Bonlak every time. One photograph is mounted upside down. However, despite these small inaccuracies, the fact that there are twelve blank pages at the end of the album, which were not filled in with an assortment of other images, indicates that this group of photographs was conceived of as a specific collection, separate from other photographs from Egypt.

There is one photograph signed by Sebah, and four others which should be attributed to him, based on the label style of the photograph.[60] Twelve photographs carry the signature of E. Béchard, who together with Hippolyte Délié is known to have produced a series of photographs about the museum, entitled *Album du Musée Boulaq*, published in 1872.[61] One of the images from Volume 29 appears in Perez[62] as an example of the images from the book, which allows the identification of at least twenty-six other photographs as the work of Béchard and Délié, based on similarities of format and subject matter.[63] Perez also publishes a photograph by Béchard and Délié[64] which shows the set-up that was used to photograph small and medium-sized objects from the museum collection, a low table and cloth backdrop placed in the museum garden.[65]

The last three photographs of the album, one signed by Sebah and two apparently also his images, give us an unusual look at how the photographer worked. In each of these photographs, the primary subject, a single piece of sculpture in two cases and a group of three pieces in another, appears in front of a cloth backdrop, around the edges of which the museum galleries may be seen. In one case, the hands and shoulder of Sebah's assistant who is holding the backdrop in place are visible (Fig. 3.13). The subjects of these photographs appear in the more usual format in which the backdrop fills the entire frame of the photograph in other images in the album, signed by Béchard. Being able to see such similar photographs of the same pieces by both Sebah and Béchard in close proximity to each other serves as an important caution about the difficulties of attributing unsigned photographs from this period in Egyptian photography.

Volume 28

Most of the sixty-one photographs in Volume 28 are views of Cairo, focusing on architecture. Arranged one full-sized photograph to a page, the photographs present a sort of visual catalogue of some of the best-known monuments of old Cairo, as well as street scenes and some images of nineteenth-century architecture.[66] The buildings of the Mamluk period (1250–1517) and earlier are laid out in the first thirty pages. Eighteen of these

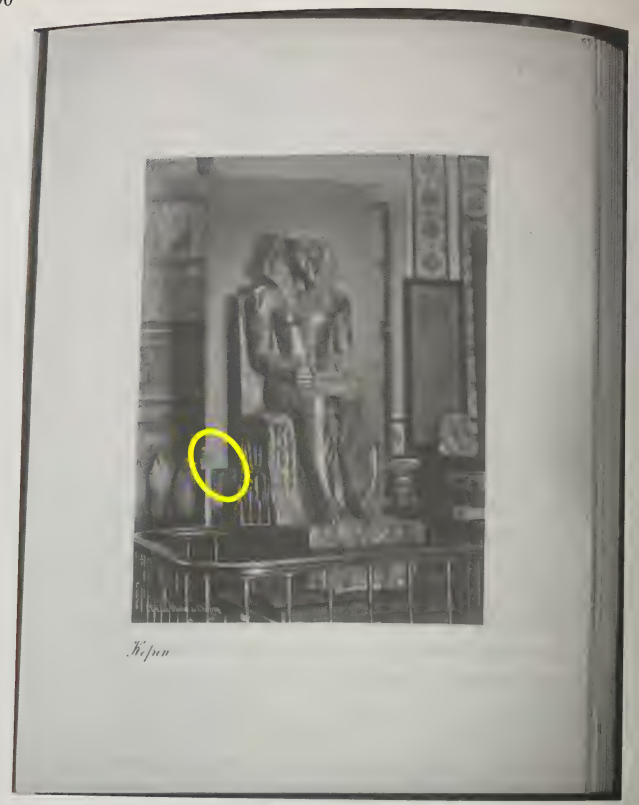


Fig. 3.13 Volume 29, page 55.

are signed by Pascal Sebah, and ten of the remaining photographs appear to be his work. This collection of architectural views provides important information about the state of these buildings in the nineteenth century. The ninth-century Mosque of ibn Tulun is the subject of four photographs which show very clearly the decrepit condition of the building before its restoration (Fig. 3.14). The same is true for many of the Mamluk buildings, particularly, for instance, the Mosque of Sultan Hasan. The later Mamluk tombs in the southern cemetery are also well documented.

The second half of the album begins with five photographs by Hammerschmidt, in which people have a much more prominent role than in any of the first thirty pages.[67] These five images show a group of Bedouin encamped in an open space in urban Cairo, two men and camels in front of a

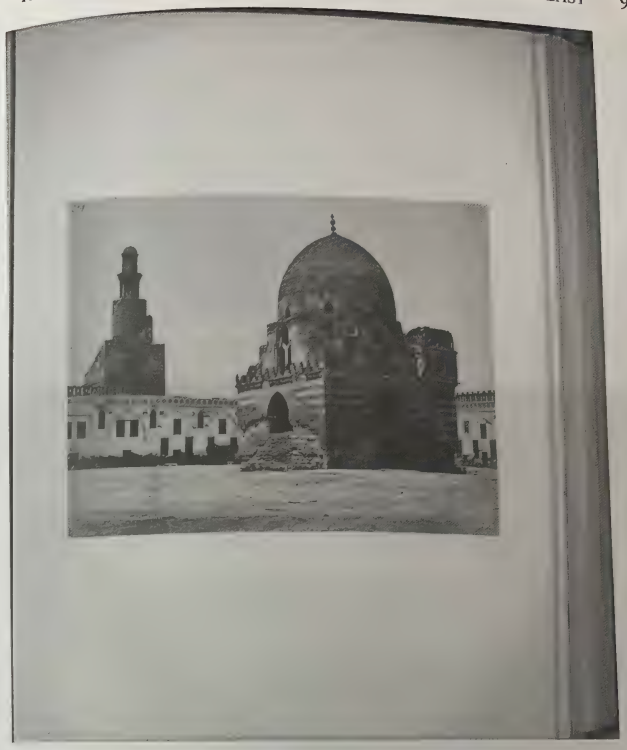


Fig. 3.14 Volume 28, page 13.

tent decorated with appliquéd design (not a typical Bedouin tent) in the desert, a portrait of three merchants in their tiny shops,[68] a water wheel with two pyramids in the background, and four people and a donkey in front of an enormous cactus plant (Fig. 1.2). The four Egyptians and their donkey arranged across the foreground of Hammerschmidt's photograph serve to emphasize the scale of the cactus which is the real subject of the image. The people also help to document the location of the plant (Egypt, as opposed to the American southwest or other regions which support such cacti), but given Lady Brassey's interest in botany, it was no doubt the plant itself which caught her eye in this photograph. Three of these photographs have roughly written penciled-in labels beneath them.

Following the Hammerschmidt images is a less well-organized presentation of views of modern Cairo, panoramic views of the old city, several photographs of Mamluk architecture which are either duplicates of

photographs in the first half of the album or architectural details with no visible labels (and thus perhaps impossible for the person compiling the album to identify specifically), two views of a religious festival, and six photographs of streets in the city, several of which are full of people. Eighteen of the twenty-five photographs in this part of the album are unsigned. The seven which are signed are by Sebah and three others appear to be his work as well. It is possible that some of the unsigned photographs in this album are the work of Lady Brassey herself, particularly the two with which the album ends: a view of what is probably a hotel lobby, furnished in a quasi-traditional style, and a photograph of a water wheel somewhere along the Nile which was inadequately rinsed and has water marks in the lower left corner.

Fig. 3.15 Volume 28, page 3.

Included in the album are fifteen photographs of the Mosque of Muhammad Ali (Fig. 3.15), the palace of Ismail at al-Jazirah, and other areas of modern Cairo. Seven of these are signed by Sebah, indicating that he, as a commercial photographer catering primarily to a tourist audience, expected to be able to sell such images of the modern city. Some of the photographs, for instance those of Shepheard's Hotel, and boats on the Nile in front of an enormous modern building, serve to commemorate an aspect of the tourist's experience of the city, in the same way as the well-known photographs of tourists climbing up and down the pyramids discussed above. British visitors to the city recognized the Mosque of Muhammad Ali as a new addition to the city's architecture and while they gave it mixed reviews architecturally, it was nonetheless a monument which most considered important to visit. Lady Brassey calls it "the splendid Mosque of Mehemet Ali, built of alabaster," adding, "The view from the terrace is superb." [69] Apart from the pyramids and modern buildings such as palaces, hotels, and theaters, it is the only building she mentions by name in her 1878 account of their Cairo visit.

On its spine this album reads, "Egypt. Cairo. Tomb of Ibrahim Pacha and Imam Chafey. Tomb of the Mamelukes. Mosque of Mohamet Ali. The Citadel. Mosque of Amron. Palace of Ismail Pacha. Etc." In Lady Brassey's exhaustive seven-volume assemblage of Egyptian photographs, divided into clearly recognizable subject categories (ancient monuments, antiquities in the museum, people, and so on), this volume documents her encounter with Cairo. Although there is some attempt to organize the architectural sites chronologically, this album nonetheless re-creates some of the chaos and overlapping boundaries of the actual nineteenth-century city. The views of people, religious festivals, and of streets interspersed among photographs of buildings act to locate the buildings in a specific place, reminding album viewers that the experience of visiting Cairo was more than just a tour of architectural monuments.

Volumes 30 and 32

These two albums present 160 photographs of the people, streets, and architecture of Cairo and its surroundings, although the two volumes do seem to have been considered to be concerned with slightly different subject matter, according to the labels on their spines. Volume 30 reads, "Egypt. Native Costumes. Egyptian Houses. Native Merchants. Traveling in the Desert." while on Volume 32 the text says, "Egypt. Cairo. Studies of Natives. Mosque of Saladin. Gardens of Esbekieh. Mosque of Choubra. Palace of Gezyret. Cemetery of Tourab. Various Streets in Cairo." To some extent the contents of the albums reflect this sense of organization, with Volume 30 containing a number of views of villages outside of Cairo, and Volume 32 a range of urban views. However, the studies of people which are

a large part of each album appear to have been divided between the two albums in an arbitrary fashion.[70] Moreover, views of the same place (and in a few cases, duplicate prints of the same view) can be seen in both albums. The albums resemble each other in the details of their assembly: in each case there is a roughly written label, in pencil, in the same hand in both albums, below nearly every photograph. In some cases, these labels repeat what is written on the photograph itself. On many pages the labels are cursory – "Arab" or "Cairo," even when there is more information on the photograph. There is a series of photographs of the gardens around Ismail's palace on al-Jazirah in Volume 32 which are mislabeled "Esbekiah Garden."[71] As has been the case with the albums already discussed, the person actually responsible for putting the photographs into these albums and labeling them does not seem to have been very knowledgeable about, or even very interested in the images. It is easy to imagine that a staff member of the Brassey household may have been handed two large stacks of photographs, roughly sorted by subject, and instructed to fill the albums with them.

Most of these photographs are the work of commercial photographers. Most carry a photographer's signature, or may be attributed to a particular photographer on the basis of a partial label or the studio setting. With a few exceptions the unsigned photographs display uniform technical characteristics, in terms of tonal range, paper size, and focus, and their subject matter is consistent with the work of the commercial photographers, Pascal Sebah and Emile Béchard, whose work the Brasseys purchased in quantity. It is unfortunate that the photographs were trimmed before being put in the albums, because positive identification of the photographers of many images is now impossible.

About half of the photographs (thirty-six) in Volume 32 are of Cairo itself. The first twenty-five pages are devoted to images of people, but there is a Hammerschmidt photograph of a street in Cairo on page 26, and the balance of the album is then devoted to the physical setting of the city. This survey begins with nine parts of an extensive panoramic view of the city produced by Sebah, in which the photographs are labeled 4A, 4B, and so on. Despite these clear labels the photographs are placed out of order, so that most of the impact of the panorama is lost. The remaining pages are filled with street scenes from the old parts of the city, interspersed among the buildings and gardens of nineteenth-century Cairo. The nineteen images of what was at that time new building, the Mosque of Muhammad Ali, his palace at Shubra, the palace of Ismail on al-Jazirah, and the Azbakiya Gardens (Fig. 3.16), as well as views of city streets, as noted above, provide invaluable documentation of the nineteenth-century city. Photographs of these places are almost never included in new books on photography in the Middle East, nor until very recently have these sites, and others from the nineteenth century, been the subject of scholarly attention from architectural or garden historians.[72]

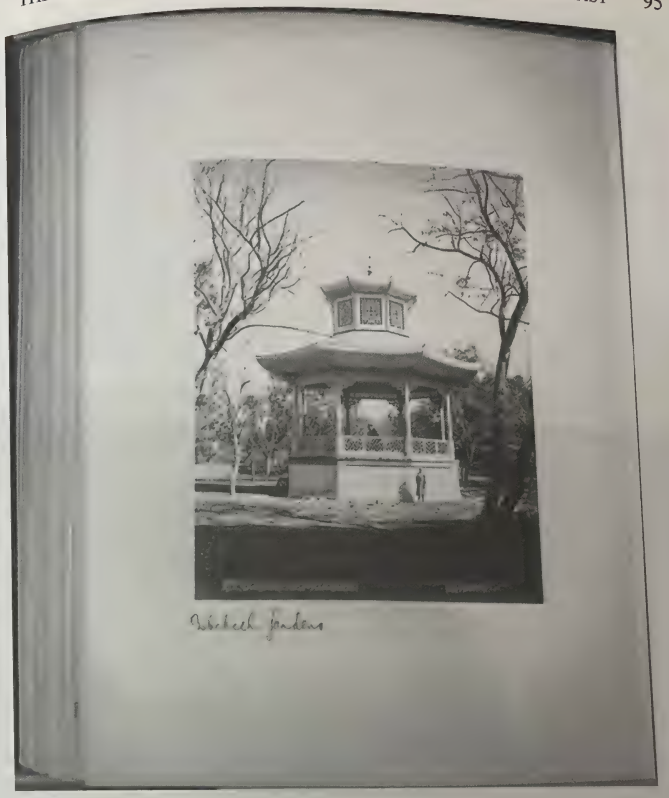


Fig. 3.16 Volume 32, page 39.

However, the modernization of the city in the nineteenth century was a project to which Muhammad Ali (1805–48) and Ismail (1863–79) devoted a great deal of attention. Following his visit to Paris in 1867, Ismail returned to Cairo determined to change the appearance of the city. He appointed an able and powerful bureaucrat named Ali Pasha Mubarak as Minister of Public Works and assigned him three enormous tasks: to plan a new quarter of the city, to be called Ismailiyah, to redevelop the area around Azbakiya, and to draw up a master plan for the entire city as Haussmann had done for Paris. In the area of Azbakiya, for example, new roads were laid out to allow the construction of new, European style houses and apartment buildings. A number of new public buildings were constructed, including the National Theater and the Cairo Opera House, as well as new hotels. Gas street lights were installed. In addition, Ismail hired a French landscape architect whom

he may have actually met in Paris, and whose work he had admired on his tours around the new parks in Paris. Barillet-Deschamps came to Cairo in 1869 and completely redesigned the Azbakiya Garden, working quickly enough that the new plants and flowers were already blooming when the guests who poured into Egypt for the opening of the Suez Canal arrived a few months later. The official opening of the park was not until 1872. The photograph by Emile Béchard in Fig. 3.16 was one of a series he produced to illustrate the Azbakiya Gardens, and shows one of the numerous pavilions, of various architectural styles, which were an essential part of such a garden. Since the Azbakiya Garden was situated a short distance away from Shepheard's Hotel, it was a particularly popular place with European tourists, who enjoyed the familiar landscaping and musical entertainments put on for their amusement.[73]

The Cairo which resulted from Ismail's efforts is described by Stanley Lane-Poole in the first chapter of his 1906 guide to the city:

> There are two Cairos, distinct in character, though but slenderly divided in site. There is a European Cairo, and there is an Egyptian Cairo ... In truth, European Cairo knows little of its mediaeval sister. Thousands of tourists, mounted on thousands of donkeys, do indeed explore "the native quarters" every winter.[74]

While Lane-Poole is not interested in, and does not discuss, the impact that "European" Cairo had on Egyptian residents of the city, it is certainly true that Ismail's modern city was the Cairo where European visitors lived, touring the old part of the city as if it were a living museum arranged for their examination.[75] The modern monuments of Cairo were clearly a part of the city they considered to be important, as their inclusion in the Brassey albums and other photograph albums of the period indicates.

A different part of Egyptian life appears on the pages of Volume 30. The album is primarily given over to photographs of individual people, photographed as types, and to views of people in a rural or desert landscape, but there is an odd assortment of other photographs which have also been pasted in. These include a few misplaced photographs: the Bulak Museum garden photograph mentioned above, an image of a tomb relief, a photograph of an elephant, and another of three giraffes, all in large fenced-in enclosures,[76] the courtyard of a large house, and most interestingly, a photograph showing the shop of Emile Béchard, in the Azbakiya Garden, where presumably the Brasseys purchased many of the photographs in their albums (Fig. 3.17).

Apart from these miscellaneous images, the album is filled with photographs of people, all by commercial photographers, who worked both in the studio and outdoors. These sixty-six photographs in album 30 together with the fifty-one in Volume 32 are an extensive sample of this aspect of

Fig. 3.17 Volume 30, page 50.

commercial photography, and are worth looking at carefully, since it is these images which appear most often in modern publications of historic photographs from the region.

Views of people, both individually and in groups, engaged in (or pretending to be engaged in) various activities are less interesting as a record of life in Egypt in this period than as a record of how the Brasseys and the commercial photographers perceived and constructed Egyptian life at this time. It is impossible to look at these images without considering them as constructed visions of the subject by the photographer. This construction took place on several levels, most obviously in simple matters of costume, prop, and setting, but beginning with a determination of which subjects should be photographed and how they should be presented. Unlike architectural subjects, which in these albums included a much fuller range of material – ancient sites, medieval buildings, old streets, new bridges, palaces, gardens –

photographs of people were much more limited. There were no views of Egyptian bureaucrats in European dress going to work, no views of wealthy Egyptian women dressed in Parisian fashions having tea, no people at work in factories, no children at school, no indication of the tremendous social changes under way in Egyptian society in the last decades of the nineteenth century. The only exception is a photograph which shows Egyptian soldiers in parade formation.[77] While modernity in the life of the Egyptian people does not appear in these photographs, they nonetheless differ from other published images in that most subjects are busy working, or are at least posed as if they were at work. The indolent figures of men playing games or standing idly, seen in contemporary publications, are largely absent. The images of Egyptian life in the Brassey albums thus present a selection which was first shaped by the photographer, who decided how Egyptians should be presented to appeal best to his market, and further shaped by the decisions made by Lady Brassey about which images should be purchased.[78]

Views of village life

Volume 30 contains twenty-two views of rural Egypt, of the landscape, villages, and people who lived along the Nile, which is what Lady Brassey and her children would have seen as they journeyed along the Nile to look at the ancient monuments in 1883. This group also includes a few photographs of camel caravans in the desert, not something the Brasseys would necessarily have experienced firsthand, but a standard image associated with Egypt. Nine of these are signed by Sebah, and although most of the photographs have no labels, they appear to be the work of commercial photographers. There are three which are particularly interesting from a technical point of view, because unlike any of the other outdoor photographs from the Middle East in this collection, these have clouds visible in the sky (Fig. 3.18).[79] Other qualities of the images – informal siting of the subjects in the landscape, uneven focus and rinse marks – suggest that perhaps these were the work of Lady Brassey or one of her traveling companions.

The photographs that the Brasseys chose to depict Egyptian life outside of Cairo present a relatively detached view of the subject. The people who appear in the photographs are, for the most part, working in some way, either drawing water, operating a water system (Fig. 3.19), or handling animals. These images, as well as others in which people are standing near the Nile or in a palm grove, draw attention to the relationship between the people and the land they live in, as do the few which show groups of people sitting or moving around in their own environment, either a modest courtyard, or the outskirts of a village. A few photographs are views of villages or the landscape, with no people. None of these photographs gives any evidence of interaction between the photographer and the subjects, nor is there any implicit interaction between viewer and subject. In the overlap of landscape and people which these photographs

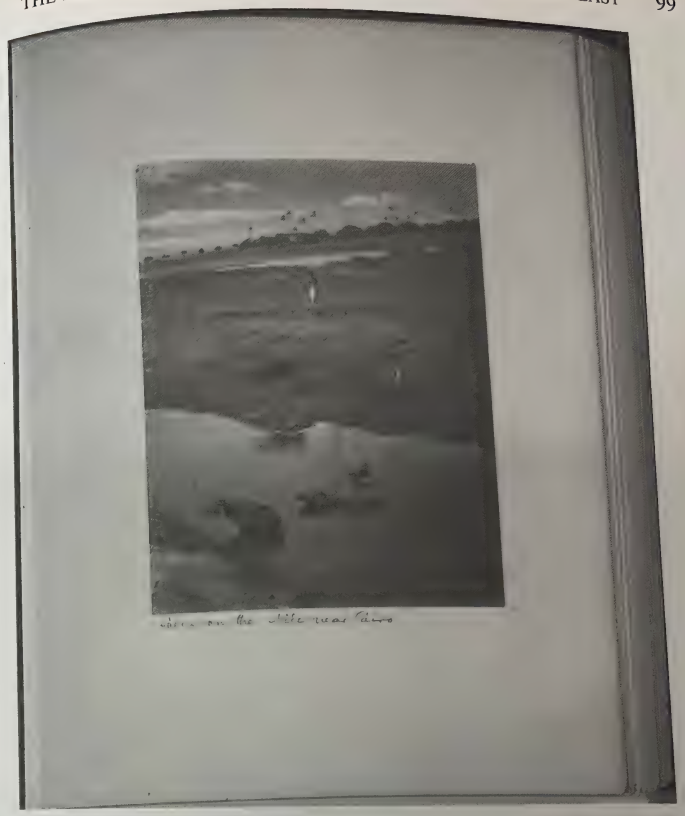


Fig. 3.18 Volume 30, page 27.

present, we see the linking of physical geography with cultural make-up and the idea that scenery can be "so characteristic of a people" which Schwartz identifies in the context of North American photographs.[80] Included no doubt to complete the comprehensive photographic presentation of Egypt which was obviously an objective in assembling this collection, these views of rural life also give us a picture of the interaction between the Brasseys and rural Egypt. Traveling in their own self-contained world on their dahabiya, stopping to visit ruins or British acquaintances, their contact with local people would have been minimal, and their understanding of local life limited to what they would have observed along the Nile or been told by their guides. That is what we see in these photographs as well.

All of the views of people in these two albums are the work of commercial photographers and it seems likely that most of the images of rural life are as

Fig. 3.19 Volume 30, page 63.

well. Volume 32 opens with twenty-five pages of pictures of people, including three pages of carte-de-visite sized photographs. About half of these thirty-one tiny images have been garishly colored, which destroys their photographic qualities and makes them seem almost cartoon-like.[81] The cartes-de-visite present the stock types of the Middle East: men praying, women in various costumes carrying water jugs or children, porters, water carriers, and a number of Christian priests. The twenty-one full-size images of people which follow are much more compelling representations, partly because of their larger size, but also because the larger format allows more creativity in the presentation of the subject. They are evenly divided between subjects posed in a studio setting or an outdoor one, between shots of

individuals or groups and between men and women. Most of the groups consist of between three and seven people, posed as if they were in the midst of their normal activities – selling fruit, carrying water, dancing, generally with the wall of a house as a backdrop. In the staged quality of the interaction among the characters in the photograph, these resemble tableaux. All of the group photographs, as well as a few of individuals, fifteen in all, are either signed by Sebah or can be attributed to him. There are two in this group whose attribution is unclear, and the last four photographs of this series in the album are three views of individuals, and an indoor studio shot of three dervishes by Emile Béchard. Béchard's three photographs of individuals, although labeled as types (Turning Dervish,[82] Wandering Dervish, Peasant Woman), are more like portraits in the presentation of the subject, especially in comparison to the cartes-de-visite at the front of the album. Figure 3.20,

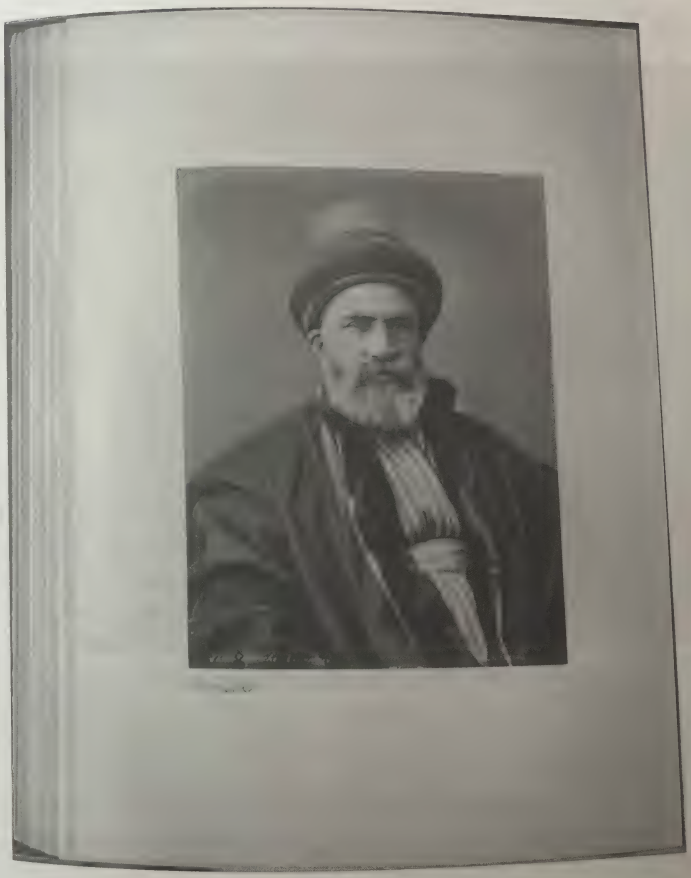


Fig. 3.20 Volume 32, page 23.

Béchard's image of a Mevlevi dervish, is a sympathetic and straightforward presentation of a serious, distinguished-looking gentleman with a kindly face who looks directly out of the photograph at the viewer.

Women

There are a few photographs which include women scattered in the other albums of Egyptian images, but nearly all of them are in Volumes 30 and 32, thirty-two in all. These include studio portraits of individual women or small groups, as well as women alone, in pairs, or in mixed groups in outdoor settings, where the main subject of the photograph is the people, not their surroundings.[83] There are five studio views, four by Emile Béchard of the same model in different poses and costumes, and one by Sebah, entitled "Three Turkish Women," which show unveiled women either as a dancer, in the case of the Béchard photographs, or as elaborately dressed harem women, in the case of Sebah. These are the female types most often illustrated today, and which were an important part of nineteenth-century travel literature as well. Figure 3.21, one of Béchard's photographs, shows us a young woman dressed as a dancer in a tight-fitting blouse and very full trousers, against a plain studio background. She is posed as if she might be moving to music we cannot hear, but apart perhaps from her tight blouse and a small amount of midriff revealed by her costume, there is nothing explicitly erotic in this photograph – the erotic sensibility would be supplied by whatever associations the viewer brought to the image.

In fact, none of the explicitly sexual photographs of women from the Middle East which are often published in recent books on photography in the nineteenth-century Middle East[84] were included in the Brassey albums, or in any of the other albums which I looked at in connection with this project. This does not necessarily mean that these people in particular were not purchasing the erotic photographs, but they certainly were not placing them in the photograph albums intended for public display. The evidence collected for this project reveals that the explicitly sexual images of women which have been given a reasonably prominent place in twentieth-century publications had a more limited circulation in the late nineteenth century.

Most of the photographs of women in these two albums show them in a different way, as part of larger social groups comprised of other women, children, and in many cases men. Often an activity is under way – collecting water, buying or selling produce, playing music, attending to children. One such photograph by Sebah, entitled "Cour arabe" (Fig. 3.22), uses a setting which appears in other Sebah work, a paved courtyard with an elaborate *mashrabiyya* screen at the back. The space is full of people, four women, two men, and several children and young boys, all interacting with one another through speech, look, or the exchange of goods. This is a complex display of many aspects of daily life, arranged for our gaze like a play. A second

Fig. 3.21 Volume 30, page 33.

photograph by Sebah is slightly less elaborate, but nonetheless engaging (Fig. 3.23).[85] This involves a group of nine people, arranged in front of a small one-story house, also a setting Sebah has used in other work. A veiled woman dances to the music of a long flute-like instrument played by a teenage boy and a drum played by one of the adults, while three adults, each holding babies or young children, and a girl, look on. The pose of the dancer is similar to that in other views of street musicians and dancers in these two albums, but the rest of the people in the picture seem to have been able to ignore the presence of the photographer and appear unusually normal. The woman on the right leans naturally against the wall in the open doorway of the house, while the young girl watches the dancing with obvious enjoyment. The man standing behind the dancer is playing a drum, but also holding a little girl on his shoulder who looks down the street, not interested in what is going on.

Fig. 3.22 Volume 32, page 11.

The man at the far left holds a little baby to his chest and face in a position which seems to demonstrate a real attachment. Of course it is impossible to reconstruct the circumstances surrounding the production of this photograph, but it does suggest a very good rapport between Sebah and his subjects in this instance.

One activity which clearly occupied many women, at least according to the photographic evidence presented here, was getting water. As noted earlier, the Brasseys seem to have focused on the work of daily life in their selection of views of rural Egypt, and the same is true in this group of photographs. Of the thirty-two photographs being considered here, water is involved in sixteen of them, either in the form of the Nile, a well, a waterseller with full waterskins, or through the presence of water jugs, which

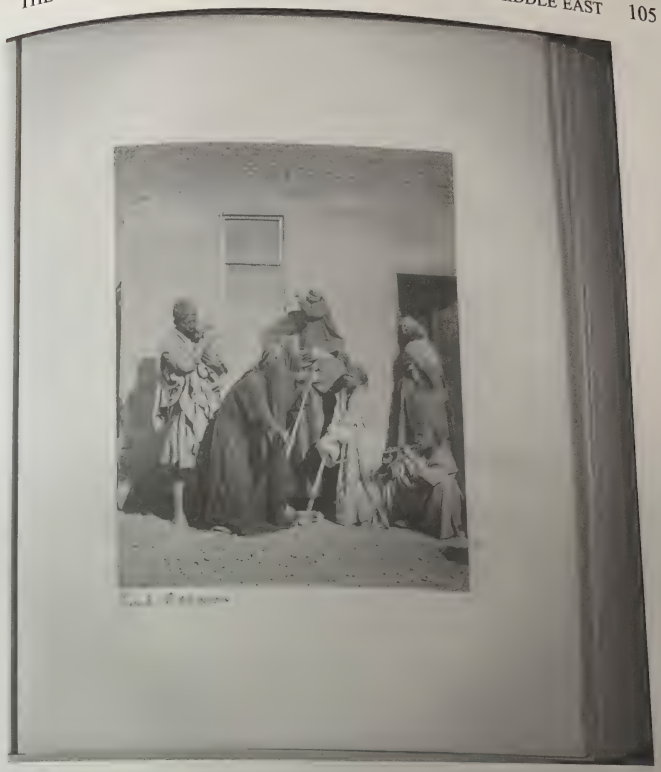


Fig. 3.23 Volume 32, page 18.

serve to remind the viewer of the relationship between water and women. Nearly as ubiquitous as water are children – appearing in fourteen photographs, and forming a mother–child pair or trio in most of those. The dancers and harem women largely fade from view in this collection, replaced by poor unveiled village women or veiled urban women, busy with the (posed) activities of their lives, with their children in tow. One of Sebah's views of women carrying water discussed earlier (Fig. 3.8) is particularly interesting as it seems to catch the three women in motion as they walk down the street, turning briefly to look at us.[86] A very different view is presented in an unsigned image of a woman and her young daughter with their water jugs at a well in an urban setting, looking out into space, but not at the viewer (Fig. 3.24).

This construction of Egyptian women as mostly hard-working mothers and family members does not preclude an often very sensual presentation of these

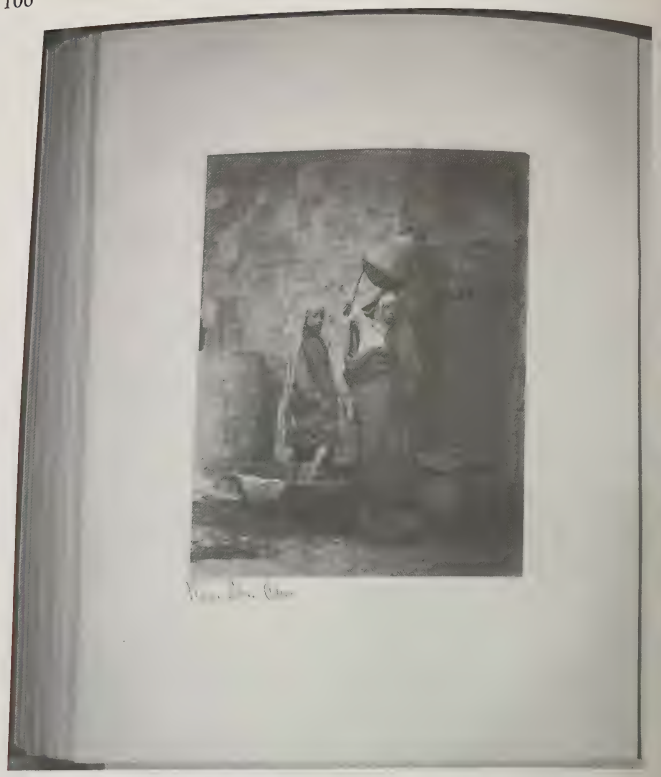


Fig. 3.24 Volume 30, page 40.

same women. The quiet view in Fig. 3.25 of women walking into the water with their water jugs to fill them, invites us to imagine the feel of the water as each woman steps further in the still Nile. Another two images of women getting water from the Nile seem to be intended as a two-part narrative, both unsigned.[87] In the earlier part of the sequence a group of six women have gathered at the river's edge and are filling their water jugs. In the second photograph (Fig. 3.26), a slightly larger group of seven women and a girl have put down their jugs, and are relaxing. Five of them are sitting or lying along the riverbank, one is sitting with her feet in the water, and two are submerged in the water up to the level of their breasts. The thin fabric of their dresses clings to their breasts in a very revealing way, and one bather is holding the neck of her dress open with both hands to expose more of herself while looking out of the picture towards us. While this is only one element of

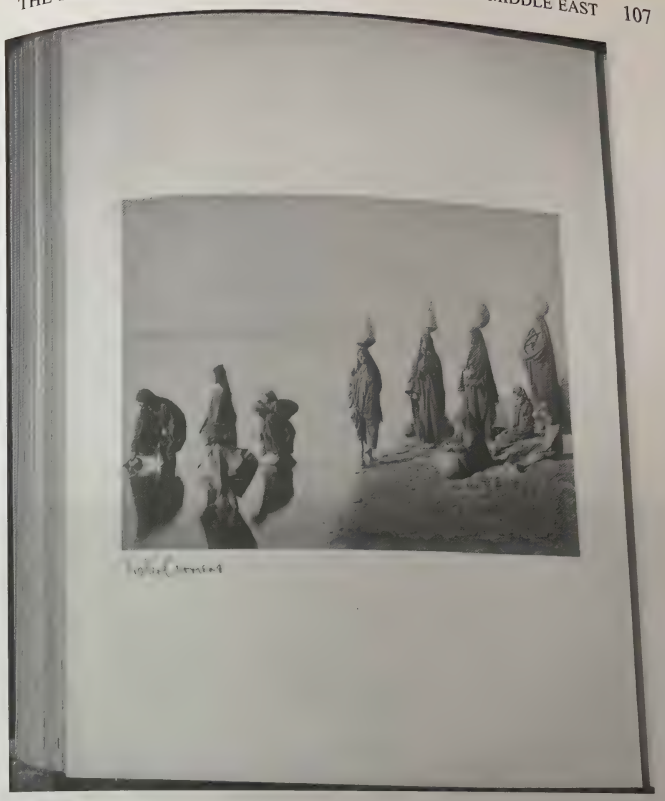


Fig. 3.25 Volume 30, page 62.

the photograph, it is a striking one, and it is placed right in the foreground, difficult to overlook. Yet the label written on the page below the photograph says merely, "Water Drawing on the Nile." The association of water and sexuality appears in another photograph, Fig. 3.27, this time showing two women apparently drawing water from a sort of pool, part of the set-up of a commercial photographer whose work is included elsewhere in the same album. One woman faces us, with her eyes closed, filled jug on her head and one hand holding up her dress to reveal one of her legs. The second woman, further back and to the left, is stepping out of the pool, her dress falling open to reveal half of one breast, and her hand between her legs, holding her dress out of the water, allowing us to see most of her legs. Neither woman meets the eye of the viewer, one because her eyes are closed, and the other because she is looking away.[88]

Fig. 3.26 Volume 30, page 17.

The sexuality, either explicit or implied, associated with representations of women in the Middle East has been discussed often in recent scholarship.[89] Early efforts in this area are seriously marred by the uncritical assumption of completely homogeneous productions of images of women for a uniformly male gaze.[90] Introducing gender into the consideration of these images, in terms of their production, their reception, or both, is essential for a convincing analysis.[91] Further, as even this relatively small sample of photographs in the Brassey albums demonstrates, the ways in which Middle Eastern women appear in photographs is much more varied than we are often led to believe. This heterogeneity of image-making must also be addressed in any analysis of how women are represented in photographs of the Middle East.[92]

The explicitly erotic images of harem women popularized by Alloula do not appear in the Brassey albums, or in any of the albums examined for this

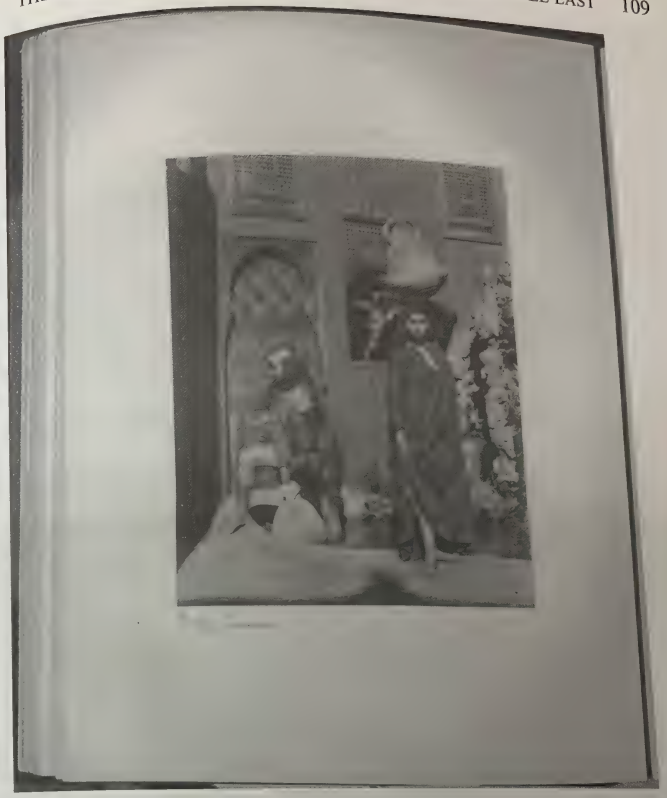


Fig. 3.27 Volume 32, page 13.

study. In fact, women, erotic or otherwise, have a very minor role in the other Middle Eastern albums considered here, analyzed in the next chapter. Lady Brassey's apparent interest in a detailed documentation of many aspects of Egypt would seem to account for the larger number of photographs of women in these albums. In her selection of images, it is possible to confirm ideas discussed elsewhere about the role of photography in communicating knowledge, about the way in which English women participated in the construction of Orientalist and imperialist discourses, and about the heterogeneous and multivalent nature of those discourses.[93]

In the case of the Brassey albums, it is important to acknowledge the number of individuals who had a role in the construction of Egypt, or in the construction of Egyptian women which was eventually presented on the album pages. Several different photographers (who may have had assistants

taking photographs) and Lady Brassey or her family or assistants were constructing or selecting images. Each was an individual, particularizing his or her constructions/interpretations within discourses of Orientalism/imperialism which were not hegemonic, but diverse and contested, and variable. Thus some images do support what has been identified as a dominant, eroticized view of Middle Eastern women, but others do not, for example Béchard's straightforward portrait of the unassuming "Woman of Luxor" (Fig. 3.28), or Sebah's view of three black-robed women standing outside a modest house (Fig. 3.8). What can we make of this? At the very least we must recognize that there were numerous constructions of Middle Eastern women operating at the same time, addressing the same English audience. This diversity signals that some photographers and consumers at least were participating in Orientalist discourses in which dominant and

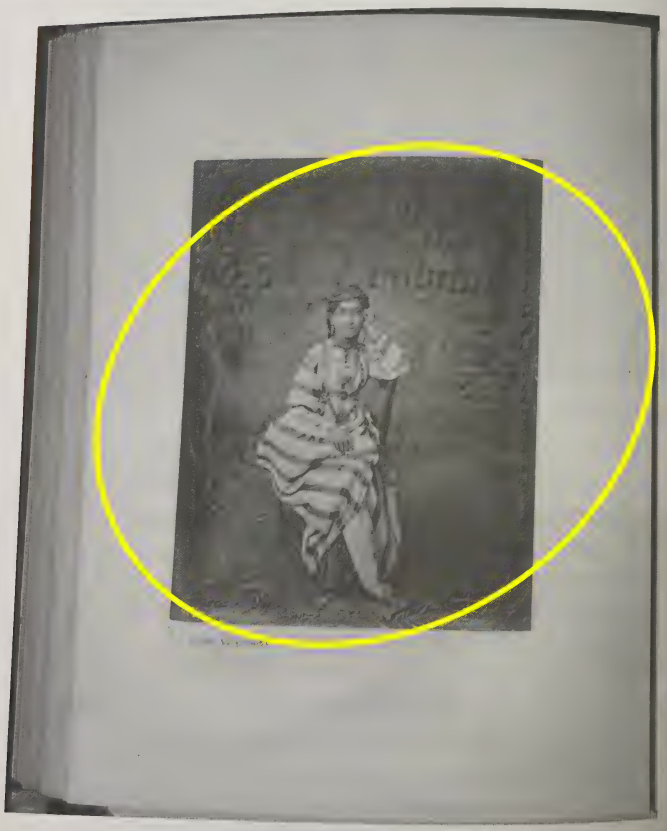


Fig. 3.28 Volume 30, page 42.

alternative constructions of the subject (in this case, women) could be accommodated simultaneously. The construction of Middle Eastern women as sexual beings available for (imagined) conquest by European men is central to Orientalism as a construct; the recognition that this defining construction is itself variable and contested confirms the instability of Orientalism as a discursive category.

The views of people included in these two albums make an important contribution to our understanding of how Egyptians could be represented photographically. With their emphasis on showing people at work, and in placing people in a particular geographic setting, urban or rural, the photographs present a different view of their subject from those we are accustomed to seeing in contemporary publications. The value of these two albums for us is thus not so much in the particular arrangement of photographs vis-à-vis one another, but in the total assemblage and what it reveals about this aspect of commercial photography in Egypt.

Volume 31

There is a ghost-like quality to many of the photographs in Volume 31, the album which is devoted primarily to illustrating the effects of the British bombardment of Alexandria in 1882.[94] Of the seven albums containing images of Egypt, this one is the largest, with 103 photographs, arranged mostly one to a page. Most of the photographs are clearly the work of professional photographers. Fifty-one are signed by L. Fiorillo, who is known for his photographs of Alexandria in ruins, but it is rare to see so many of his images in one collection.[95] The work of Sebah and Béchard is also included in this album, with twenty and three signed images, respectively.

In contrast to some of the Egypt albums, which occasionally seem somewhat haphazard in their internal structure, this album was put together very carefully. Each photograph (with the exception only of two small ones) has a beautifully written ink label on the page below, in some cases replacing a penciled one which has been erased. While these labels may repeat information provided on the photograph itself (translated from French), in the case of the many photographs with no labels the information on the page identifies the subject and the location of the photograph. The subject of this volume, one of direct political importance to Britain, merited much more attention than, for instance, photographs of types of Egyptian people. Furthermore, the Brasseys had traveled to Egypt in January 1883, and spent several days touring the battle sites and the city itself with British friends. Lady Brassey's account of their trip, published in the journal *Good Words for 1884*, clearly relates their view of the conflict as well as providing information about the appearance of the bombed out city and military forts.

Fig. 3.29 Volume 31, page 1.

The order in which the photographs are placed in the album was not haphazard either. The volume opens with a view by Sebah of the Place des Consuls, the center of the new nineteenth-century city where land had been given by Muhammad Ali to the foreign powers whose consulates were located there, shown before the bombardment (Fig. 3.29). This is followed by several pages of photographs of that area of the city, as well as views of the harbor area, two nearly identical views of Pompeii's Pillar, one by Sebah and one by Béchard, Cleopatra's Obelisk, and the rural areas and waterways near Alexandria – the parts of the city of most interest to European tourists. There is one view of what is called the New Hotel which is a very large building in a European style, and several of a modern palace on the harbor. These are followed by about thirteen views of British military installations and soldiers,

Fig. 3.30 Volume 31, page 32.

including two of an armored train (Fig. 3.30), a recent innovation in military technology which was used in the Alexandria bombardment.[96] While there are a few photographs of the aftermath of the bombardment, they are all military sites.

This initial part of the album is set apart by one page, blank on both sides, after which the balance of the album is taken up with views of the city itself, in its ruined state following the bombardment. The first ten pages display photographs either by Sebah or unsigned. The sequence of bombed city images is then interrupted by an unsigned photograph of the Brasseys and others on a dahabiya (Fig. 3.4), a souvenir of the trip taken along the Nile by Lady Brassey and her daughters Mabelle (aged 18), Muriel (aged 11), and Marie (aged 8) in 1883.[97] The quiet and relaxed feeling of the scene depicted

in Fig. 3.4 is in sharp contrast to the destruction which appears in most of the photographs in this album. Next comes a page with four portraits of some of the men involved in the military action, Lord Wolsely and Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour for the British, and the Khedive[98] and another, unlabeled, Egyptian man who is most likely Ahmad Urabi, the Egyptian army colonel who led the nationalist movement which provided the pretext for the British bombardment of the city.

This conjunction of images sets the stage, more or less, for the viewer's understanding of the views of the bombed out city of Alexandria which comprise most of this album. After a brief overview of the city and the bombardment, two photographs provide a dual identification for the city: as a holiday site for the British, and as a site of political/military conflict with the page of photos introducing major players in the conflict from the two sides. What follows is most likely a set of photographs produced for sale by L. Fiorillo which begins with an unusual image. Since actual photography during the bombardment would not have been possible, Fiorillo attempts to fill this void by including a photograph of a painting of the actual bombardment with his other work, and it is this image which introduces the fifty photographs which fill the rest of the album. This is an eerie series of views of ruined buildings and forts in what appears to be a virtually deserted city. Although it is clear from some of the photographs that the city was still inhabited, most of Fiorillo's views have just one or two passers-by posed stiffly in the foreground. The emphasis in these images is on the piles of rubble, burned out facades, and ruined streets which characterized Alexandria in 1882. Figure 3.31, Fiorillo's photograph of the Place des Consuls after the bombardment and ensuing fires completes a "before and after" sequence with the Sebah image of the same site illustrated in Fig. 3.29. The two Egyptian forts which sustained heavy damage, Fort Pharos and Fort Ras el-Tin, are the subject of a number of photographs. Some of the images are titled to create a sense of narrative around the bombardment and subsequent events. Ahmad Urabi, called Araby Paşa in the photographs, appears as an absent figure in photographs of his house, of the mosque where he said his final prayer ("La mosquée du Chiek Migaud où Arabi fit sa dernière prière") (Fig. 3.32), and of the court martial at the Palace of Justice.[99] One of Fiorillo's photographs (Fig. 3.33) makes explicit the political reality which underlies most of this album. It is a view of the dismantled batteries at the Ras el-Tin fort, in which two British soldiers are standing, one with his hand placed on a cannon and the other at attention facing the camera, while the bodies of three Egyptian soldiers lie in the foreground near their feet.

The bombardment photographs in this album form part of an increasingly extensive photographic record of military conflict dating back to Roger Fenton's images of the Crimean War in 1855, which were exhibited in London and played an important role in communicating a certain image of

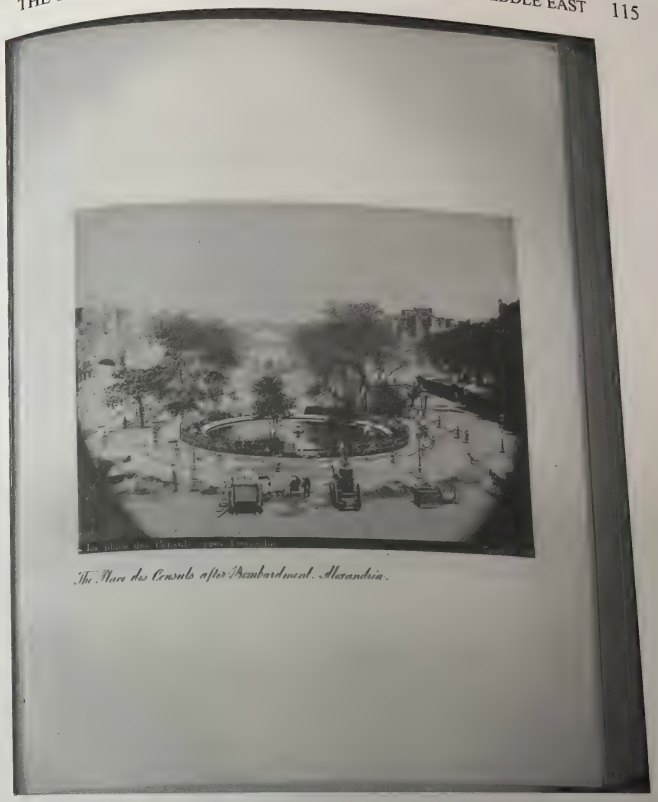


Fig. 3.31 Volume 31, page 65.

the conflict. By the time of the Abyssinian Campaign, twelve years later, the role of photography as a "means of displaying the official 'truth' of a campaign" was well established.[100] Many of the photographs in the album display the characteristics noted by James Ryan in his analysis of the Abyssinian photographs: an absence of indigenous people and a focus on the landscape (or in this case, also the cityscape) as a backdrop for a narrative of British imperial force. Working within a clearly established convention of photographic aesthetics, these images present a very selective view of the bombardment, like the tightly controlled view of the Crimean and Abyssinian conflicts which had reached the British public.

However, there are two significant differences at work in shaping the photographic representation of the bombardment of Alexandria. First of all, unlike the Crimean and Abyssinian conflicts, which took place in physically

Mosque of Chek Mgand Alexandria.

Fig. 3.32 Volume 31, page 54.

isolated locations, Alexandria was within easy reach of the numerous commercial photographers who made it their business to sell images of Egypt. Secondly, as Ryan cogently points out, as photography became more accessible to larger numbers of people, more soldiers carried their own cameras and it became impossible to control the photographic record of war as it had been earlier. Neither the commercial photographers whose work is included in the Brassey album nor the soldiers who took part in the bombardment or later occupation, whose albums we will examine in the next chapter, felt constrained by earlier photographic convention to produce similarly quiet, empty photographs of battle locations, or celebratory portraits of officers. While there are certainly many of those sorts of photographs of the bombardment and ensuing conflict, there are also views of bodies rotting

Ras el Tin Batteries dismantled Alexandria

Fig. 3.33 Volume 31, page 59.

in the desert, British graves, and similar photographs which disrupt the official construction of imperial military campaigns.

The Alexandria photographs fill the most carefully assembled of any of the Brasseys' albums on the Middle East, a clearly constructed narrative of events with which some members of the family were particularly involved. Although parts of the rest of their Egyptian albums are exhaustive in their treatment of a subject, as this volume is too, none displays the care in ordering the images and providing information for the album reader that we see here. Nor is that surprising. Images of ruined monuments, however intriguing, and photographs of unknown people in a distant city would pale beside photographs showing the effects of a military engagement which involved British troops and which led to an occupation, events thoroughly covered in the national press. As a political family, the Brasseys can be

expected to have been keenly interested in what went on in Alexandria, as well as in disseminating information about the situation, as they encountered it in Egypt. One index of their interest is this album.

Photography in Egypt in this period

There were a large number of commercial photographers working in Cairo during the 1870s and 1880s when the Brasseys were buying the photographs. In his directory, Perez lists twenty-five photographers whose work would have been available for sale to tourists when the Brasseys were in Egypt. As we have seen, despite the numbers of commercial photographers active in Cairo at this time, the Brasseys purchased the majority of their photographs from Pascal Sebah and Emile Béchard. (There are also five photographs signed William Hammerschmidt in Volume 28 and a few other of his images scattered through the other Egyptian albums, as well of course as the Fiorillo views of Alexandria.) It is not clear why they preferred the work of these two,[101] and unfortunately, there are virtually no references to purchasing photographs in Cairo in any of Lady Brassey's books. However, the albums do allow an extensive examination of the work of Sebah and E. Béchard, leading to a more comprehensive understanding of their careers than hitherto possible. The work of Pascal Sebah has been fairly well published, appearing in most surveys of photography in the Middle East, but Béchard has been largely overlooked, despite the very high quality of his images, and the apparent availability of his work in Cairo.[102]

Emile Béchard is thought to have arrived in Egypt with his partner Hippolyte Délié in 1869, and to have worked with him into the mid-1870s,[103] although none of the photographs in the Brassey albums bears Délié's signature. Although Béchard's work figures prominently in the Brassey collection, leading to the conclusion that he was a popular commercial photographer at the time, his photographs are rarely reproduced in modern publications.[104] Until now Béchard has been known primarily for his photographs of Egyptian antiquities and archaeological sites. However, as the Brassey collection indicates, he also produced many photographs of people, both inside the studio and out of doors. His work, whatever the subject, is characterized by a dramatic sense of presentation and careful attention to composition.

In the studio, Béchard often posed his subjects against a dramatic array of large plants on a dirt ground which provided a more realistic setting than the painted backdrop and flowered carpet favoured by Bonfils, for example. He was adept at arranging compositions of several people, each of whom appeared to be isolated in his or her own private space. Figure 3.34 shows a photograph of four children, together with props (large water jug, wooden crates, and a number of small pottery vessels), which may have been intended to re-create a street scene of young peddlers in Béchard's familiar studio

Fig. 3.34 Volume 30, page 48.

setting.[105] Each child is carefully posed, intent on his or her activity, whether it is drinking from a clay vessel or simply staring into space. His photographs of single people, generally identified as a type by the label, present the subject in a direct, straightforward way. As with his portrait of a Mevlevi dervish discussed above, many of his images look more like portraits of their subject than stock productions of types, conveying a sense of the individual, despite the lack of a name, rather than focusing on details of costume and exotic accessories. Others, particularly his images of women (for example the dancer pictured in Fig. 3.21), can be more staged and less personal in their presentation of the figure, reflecting perhaps a difference in the relationship between Béchard and his male or female subjects.

The photographs in the Brassey albums indicate that Béchard was perfectly at ease photographing people out of doors, as well as in the studio.

He posed people against stone buildings, or against plastered walls, or in a garden, apparently able to take advantage of photographic opportunities that he encountered. One series shows a group of men and boys in several different positions in front of a small café. His photograph entitled "Femme du Luxor" (Fig. 3.28) presents a young woman seated in a relaxed informal pose on a simple wood chair looking directly into the camera. The bright stripes of her garment and her elaborate jewelry stand out against the monochrome mudbrick wall and straw-strewn floor which are the background of this unusual image, one which he must have taken on the spur of the moment. Béchard is somehow able to keep his subjects still, but looking reasonably natural. The people in his photographs often look somber, but they do not generally have the very unhappy expressions that are often found in other commercial photographs from this period and region.

Finally, one image shows a photographer's shop, which according to its label is located in the Azbakiya Gardens (Fig. 3.17). The shop has the name Béchard across the top and "E. Béchard" clearly visible on a placard advertising various views, placed outside the door. This photograph, along with the series of the gardens themselves which appear in the albums and are signed E Béchard, would seem to indicate that it was Emile, not Henri Béchard whose shop was in the Azbakiya Gardens.[106] Given this fact, it is even more surprising that so few of his photographs appear in publications today, since his location in the Gardens near Shepheard's Hotel would have made his work very accessible indeed to tourists, as Lady Brassey herself indicates in this remark from her 1877 visit to Cairo: "Then we sat on the verandah [of Shepheard's] looking on the street until we became tired of doing nothing, after which we started for a stroll in the Ezbekieh gardens close by. They are beautifully laid out for an evening promenade."[107]

The Brassey albums provide an opportunity for an encyclopedic look at the work of Pascal Sebah, who is the photographer whose work they bought most. Although he was based in Constantinople, he had clearly gone to great trouble to document every aspect of Egypt which would be of interest to his clientele. The Brasseys bought his views of Cairo, of rural Egypt, of the antiquities, of the Bulak Museum collection, and of Alexandria. All of his work displays a technical competence, and an apparent interest in the careful documentation of his subject. His work on architecture nearly always sacrifices drama in favor of legibility, as has been discussed in more detail above.

Sebah's views of people outside are less controlled than those of Béchard. There is more movement among the subjects, and more sense of their actual interaction with one another, or with the photographer. Some of his outside work involving people is very dramatic; for example, the well-known images of camel caravans in the desert, where a string of camels and their riders walk across the picture place, or are posed against a high skyline, with an empty

desert foreground occupied only by the bodies of two dead camels. His studio work generally is much less dramatic, and very straightforward in the presentation of his subjects, who are always types. For the most part, he does not represent these subjects in the very individual, personal way that Béchard sometimes did. However, there is variation and visual interest in how he creates these images.

Turkey

The Brasseys visited Turkey twice, staying in and around Istanbul for a month in 1874 and a week in 1878, using the *Sunbeam* as their base except for short trips to other cities. The photographs in Volume 62 document their two visits. They had a number of British friends in Istanbul, with whom they visited major tourist sites around the city, and met some of the Ottoman elite. The photographs in this album are an intriguing collection of images, reflecting the Brasseys' interest in what the city and its surroundings looked like, not who its inhabitants were or how they lived.

Compared to some of the other albums we have considered, the structure of this one is much more varied. Only three of the 118 photographs in this volume are signed by Sebah, although there are numerous others which are clearly the work of a professional photographer, most likely Sebah. About half of the photographs are small, approximately 14 × 8.5 cm (postcard size); the others are much larger at 29.7 × 24 cm, again with some variation in size among different photographs. The album begins with a formal, oval portrait of Abdül Aziz, centered on the page, with "Abdul Aziz. Sultan of Turkey" written below in a neat black ink script. This is followed by a page with two pairs of smaller images, one two views of the same young man seated in a chair, labeled on the page below "Types of Arabs. Constantinople," and the second pair two views of the same woman seated in a studio setting, wearing a *yashmak* and *ferace*, holding a parasol, labeled below, "Turkish Ladies. Constantinople." The next eleven pages present a view of most of the major tourist sites of the city, usually six views to a page, nearly all neatly labeled in ink. This survey is bracketed at beginning and end with a page which has one very large panoramic view of the city and one small image, in the beginning a studio view of dervishes and at the end, a view of the British Embassy in Therapia. None of these photographs is signed, but internal evidence suggests that they were done by Lady Brassey. On one of these pages (Fig. 2.3), included among the six photographs are a view of a Turkish cemetery, identified in *Sunshine and Storm* as the work of Lady Brassey, and an image of the harbour at Therapia, near the British Embassy, which includes a yacht, most likely the *Sunbeam*. The fifty-five photographs in this set (that number does not include the photographs which are the same size, but were clearly

taken in a studio) are very competent work, and if they were indeed all done by Lady Brassey, demonstrate an impressive increase in photographic skill since her North American efforts a few years previously.

The balance of the album, fifty-four pages, is arranged with one photograph per page, more or less by location. This section begins with three views of the Bosporus, two of caiques and one of Beylerbey Palace, followed by two very large photographs of Bursa, panoramic views of the city labeled merely "Bursa." These are obviously part of a series which continues in the album after a one-page interruption, a view of the English Cemetery at Uskudar, the placement of which, in the midst of a series of photographs of Bursa is a little confusing, and is probably a mistake. The Bursa series consists of eight images, three of which are signed by Sebah, and all of which are probably his work. These photographs are mostly views of the city, with a few focusing on a specific architectural monument.

From Bursa, the photographs take us back to Istanbul, to an eleven-page sequence of the Çirağan Palace, a beautiful example of nineteenth-century palace architecture along the Bosporus which burned to the ground in 1910, leaving only the white stone facade standing.[108] Arranged like a photographic tour, the images begin with four views of the exterior of the palace and its grounds, and then move to the elaborately decorated interior (Fig. 3.35). Lady Brassey visited this palace twice during her 1874 stay in Istanbul (shortly after it was completed), and found it very beautiful. It is unlikely, however, that these photographs are her work, since their very large format and high technical quality are beyond her photographic skills.[109] The photographs, most of which have never been published, are an excellent document of the ephemeral palace, which stood for only thirty-six years before it was destroyed by fire.

The next photographic destination in the album is Izmir, an important port city in the nineteenth century, where the Brasseys docked in the harbor. The eleven photographs, some of which are definitely the work of Lady Brassey, are primarily of the countryside surrounding the city, although two focus on rural inhabitants, and a few include views of the city in the distance.[110] The sequence begins with a photograph of some of the ruined walls overlooking the harbor followed by a panoramic view of the harbor, full of ships, and a distant view of a large modern building, described on the page as "The Barracks. Smyrna." Other views from Izmir include an aqueduct (the Brasseys often sought out sights which were of interest from an engineering point of view),[111] a cemetery, and the Greek church of St George. Lady Brassey's photograph (Fig. 2.4) of a group of people in front of their camp shows us sixteen men and children standing and sitting in front of a tent, with small houses visible off to one side. One woman stands to the back, holding on to one of the tent ropes. All stare intently out at us, as they would no doubt have been instructed to do by Lady Brassey when she was taking the

Fig. 3.35 Volume 62, page 33.

photograph. It is one of very few images in this album where the primary focus is on people rather than architecture or panoramic views. Most but not all of the Smyrna photographs have labels in black ink, written below on the page.

The final subject in this album is the city of Edirne, which Lady Brassey visited by train in 1878, accompanied by A.Y. Bingham, the artist who was traveling with the Brassey party, and her 13 year old daughter Mabelle, and where she stayed only two nights. It is clear from the labels on the photographs that neither Lady Brassey or anyone in her employ was particularly familiar with the subjects of the nineteen photographs of Edirne, since only the first three are labeled, and even those are mislabeled![112] The series begins with four views of the Selimiye Mosque, certainly the most prominent architectural monument of the city, but three of these are labeled St Sophia, perhaps confusing the Selimiye Mosque with the Hagia Sophia in

Fig. 3.36 Volume 62, page 64.

Istanbul. The photographs in this part of the album are all either panoramic views of the countryside around Edirne, including architectural monuments, or studies of specific buildings. There is one image (Fig. 3.36) of a street near the Selimiye Mosque (whose minarets are visible in the background) with a large number of men standing in front of a nineteenth-century building. The men, who wear an interesting variety of costume, are nearly all facing the photographer, apparently watching him. With the exception of one photograph which shows some people in European dress by a river, this is the only time when people appear in the Edirne images. The last photograph in the album is signed "Michailides" in the lower left corner, with the "s" written backwards, but none of the other photographs in this group is signed.[113]

Of the albums considered so far, this one has the largest number of photographs that can be definitely identified as having been taken by Lady

Brassey, either because they appear in *Sunshine and Storm* or because of their subject matter. One, discussed at the beginning of the chapter, which may be by Lady Brassey is labeled "An Ambassador's Caique" and shows a caique just leaving from the European side of the Bosporus (Fig. 3.7). The flag flying from the stern and the oars of the ten oarsmen are blurred, as are a number of the men standing around on shore. While some of the people in the photograph are obviously aware of the camera, it is a less formal and static image than most commercial efforts. Most of Lady Brassey's photographs which have people in them are at least slightly blurred because of the movement of her subjects, as we can see in her view of a group of people she must have encountered in her family's wanderings around Izmir, discussed above (Fig. 2.4). While some people moved slightly, most of the subjects of this photograph at least seem interested or even slightly bemused at having their picture taken. The landscapes and architectural views which she took are generally competent, if not inspired, for example her photograph of the aqueduct near Izmir.

Whatever their documentary value, the photographs of Turkey in Volume 62 offer a peculiarly quiet and still view of the Ottoman empire in the 1870s. There are only four or five images in the entire album which show people interacting with one another. The rest of the photographs, whether landscape, cityscape, or architectural views, show towns, countryside, and buildings almost completely devoid of any sign of human habitation. We close this album with a good idea of what parts of the Ottoman empire looked like in this period, but no sense of how people functioned in the settings illustrated in the photographs.

Conclusions

The Brasseys traveled aboard their own yacht, and to a large extent were isolated from the native inhabitants of the lands through which they journeyed. While on land, they moved, as much as possible, within the confines of empire. That is, they stayed with British colonial officials, socialized with the British elite whenever they were available, carried letters of introduction to those they did not already know, visited at Government House, and interacted in a very limited way with local, non-British society. As their travels are described in Lady Brassey's books, and judging from the contents of both Lady Brassey's museum collections and the photograph albums, her goal in their travel was, at least partially, the accumulation of knowledge about the world. For her, knowledge seems to have consisted of facts about plant life, geology, biology, and to a much lesser extent, native arts and crafts. The people living in the various places they visited, especially in the Middle East, were of limited interest.[114]

Her attitudes about the places they visited, particularly the Middle East, come through very clearly in the photographs she collected there. Compared to all of the other parts of the region, Egypt is exhaustively documented, a consequence of the extraordinary interest that was taken in the monuments of ancient Egypt in the nineteenth century, its perceived political importance, and the consequent military involvement of Britain in the affairs of Egypt. Her photographs construct Egypt as a place of ancient monuments, and Cairo as a city of multiple realities, with the decrepit buildings and picturesque streets of a very old city, as well as extravagant modern palaces. The people of Egypt who appear in the photographs are poor, but generally actively working – not the passively exoticized images we have come to associate with photography in this period. But there is no apparent feeling of sympathy with the economic situation of the people they saw – on the contrary, there is an almost palpable sense of difference in the photographs of Egyptian people, placed as they are among pictures of modern Cairo and images of rural villages and landscape. Alexandria as the actual site of military conflict was obviously important, and again, the focus of interest was on the consequences of the military action on the fabric of the city, not its inhabitants. Further, some of the images included in the album, particularly the photograph of the Brasseys themselves vacationing on their dahabiya on the Nile, and the British soldiers in possession of a ruined fort, cannons, and the bodies of Egyptian soldiers suggest an implicit ownership of Alexandria, and perhaps by extension (especially considering subsequent events) Egypt itself.

By contrast, Turkey received much less attention, as a travel destination and as a source of photographs. Although there was a great deal of concern in Britain at the time the Brasseys were traveling about the fate of the Ottoman empire (a fact to which Lady Brassey refers in *Sunshine and Storm*), the official British government presence there was limited to an embassy. While in Istanbul, the Brasseys visited British friends and toured the city, and with their friends had some limited interaction with a few of the elite among Ottoman society. Lady Brassey was not particularly well informed about the Ottoman empire, and there was nothing in Turkey that sparked any real interest, apart from general curiosity about what she saw. Her photographs reveal very little about the people of the Ottoman empire, although they are of interest for what they can tell us about architectural history. For her, the experience of visiting Turkey seems to have been defined by the buildings they toured in Istanbul, their travels up and down the Bosporus, and their brief visits to Bursa, Izmir, and Edirne. In those places too, it is the panoramas of the cities and their buildings which are chosen for the photograph album.

By the time that the Brasseys were visiting the Middle East, it had long been established as a major tourist destination for British travelers. Its proximity to Europe, its religious importance and its archaeological

significance, together with its strategic location guaranteed its popularity. Hundreds of travel books had been written about the region, organized tours were available, travel became more convenient as regular steamship and train services were established, and reports of new archaeological discoveries and other noteworthy events were regularly reported in the British press. When Lady Brassey traveled to other, less accessible regions of the world, for example South America or the Pacific, she studied a great deal and visited sites often unfamiliar to her readers. In the Middle East, following the well-trodden path of British tourism, there was no need to develop any particular expertise for her travels or to strike out into new territory. In fact, in her writing and her collection of photographs from the region, she displays the sorts of interests one could expect of a well-informed, well-intentioned, educated woman of the British political elite, looking at her surroundings from the point of view of her own interests and concerns.

To return to the questions posed earlier in this discussion of Lady Brassey's Middle East albums, what was emphasized in these albums, and what was left out? What does the albums' organization tell us about how the travelers thought about the region? And what was the point of assembling these images? To begin with, it is clear that the albums had a didactic purpose. They were intended to supplement the contents of Lady Brassey's museum by providing a context, in terms of the natural and built environment and local inhabitants, for the objects which were to be exhibited in the museum. For the Middle East, that context included the antiquities of ancient Egypt, other architectural monuments, views of urban and rural life, and to a lesser extent, the people who lived there. Just as Lady Brassey's museum aimed to educate those who did not have her opportunities for travel, the photograph albums were assembled to allow museum visitors to see what the Middle East looked like, and how its inhabitants went about their daily lives. Thus her albums are not mementos of family journeys, but more impersonal assemblages, encyclopedic in scale and intended for public viewing. Their contents, outlined on the album spines, present a curriculum for learning about Egypt and Turkey, both in terms of their distant pasts and their present significance for the British visitors to Lady Brassey's museum.

The albums which Lady Brassey assembled to present Egypt and Turkey show us her view of what they encountered as wealthy, politically involved British travelers. To what extent would her view of the region be shared by other British visitors? In the next chapter we examine a series of albums compiled by British residents in the Middle East, military officers who served in Egypt, and visitors from other social classes to see how their albums construct a view of the same places that the Brasseys visited.

Notes

1. The only exceptions are Volume 58, which has no writing on its spine, and Volume 50, on which the lettering on the spine is arranged in a slightly different manner. The title on this volume reads, "Mediterranean N. France 1889–90" and since this is the only non-matching volume, it would seem to provide a *terminus ante quem* for the others.
2. Zaehnsdorf was a firm of craft binders in London, founded by Joseph Zaehnsdorf in 1842. During the period when the Brassey albums were produced, Joseph William Zaehnsdorf was also active in the business, taking it over completely at his father's death in 1886. Zaehnsdorf's exhibited at international expositions, winning medals at Paris in 1867, Vienna in 1873, and the London International Exhibition of 1874. Lady Brassey may have met J.W. Zaehnsdorf in amateur photography circles, for he was apparently an enthusiastic amateur photographer. He also used photography for business, photographing bindings to send to customers who could not come to his showroom, and illustrating his articles and publicity booklets for the firm. Zaehnsdorf joined the Photographic Club in 1884, and served on the organizing committee from 1885 to 1890. He became a member of the Royal Photographic Society in 1901. The firm is the subject of a book written by Frank Broomhead in 1986, *The Zaehnsdorfs (1842–1947): Craft Bookbinders*.
3. On the flyleaf of one of the albums (Volume 25 as numbered by the Huntington), a few notations are written in pencil, which read "size 18×14×3 70 vols L130.00 5616 Photographs Sept 2/21." The text of the spine of this album reads "Algeria" and since alphabetically it is one of the first two albums in the set, would seem to indicate that their order, at one point anyway, was alphabetical, similar to an encyclopedia. The albums probably entered the Huntington collections shortly following the 1920 sale of Normanhurst, the Brassey home in Hastings, and the dispersal of the house's contents. This is borne out by the "Sept 2/21" date on the album flyleaf, although it is of course possible that the Brassey material did not pass directly from Normanhurst to the Huntington. Since their arrival at the Huntington, the albums have been assigned volume numbers, which are used here for convenience in referring to the albums. Also, the pages in each volume and some of the photographs were numbered at the Huntington.
4. For example, there are three albums in the Huntington collection which are filled with views of various ships, seascapes, and life on board the *Sunbeam*. These albums, identical in size and binding with the rest, were part of the museum exhibition. However, there are other Brassey albums, with different bindings, now in the Hastings Library and Museum containing a hodge-podge of images, including some duplicates of what may be found in the Huntington albums, which would seem to indicate that Lady Brassey did indeed consider the Huntington albums as a set, compiled with a very specific purpose.
5. As far as can be determined, the Brassey albums were not used or exhibited between the time that they arrived at the Huntington until they were placed in their present storage location in the early 1980s. Any signs of use visible on the albums were therefore acquired before their sale to the Huntington.
6. For a discussion of the relationship between museums and photographs in the nineteenth century, with particular reference to the Victoria and Albert Museum, see *The Museum and the Photograph* by Mark Haworth-Booth and Anne McCauley.

7. From our twenty-first-century perspective, it is impossible to ignore the constructed nature of knowledge and the close relationship between the collection of information and other socially or politically constructed projects in this period (or indeed in any period). There is an enormous literature around these issues; for our purposes, Edwards, 1992, Mitchell, 1988, and Schwartz, 1995 and 1996, among others, are particularly useful.
8. Please see Appendix II for a more detailed listing of the contents of each album.
9. Others of her work, for example the "Ambassador's Caique" in Volume 62 (Fig. 3.7), are even larger.
10. As in three pages of Volume 32, which contain thirty cartes-de-visite of local inhabitants or "types."
11. Coloured photographs are included in Volume 32, in the first three pages of cartes-de-visite, as well as in Volume 10, which contains photographs of Japan, and Volume 39, illustrating Italy.
12. It is unfortunately also possible that some notations have been added to the albums since their arrival at the Huntington. While present curatorial practice forbids such annotating of original objects, this was not always the case.
13. An example of this kind of variation occurs between Volume 62 and *Sunshine and Storm in the East*. In the book an illustration of the seventeenth-century Mosque of Sultan Ahmet in Istanbul is entitled "Mosque of Sultan Achmed," while the photograph from which the woodcut was made, in Volume 62, is labeled "Mosque of Sultan Ahmed."
14. Please see the previous chapter for more information about the catalogues.
15. Porter provides some biographical information about Wright in his Bexhill Museum publication, pp. 21–2.
16. I am speaking here of albums generally, not just the Brassey albums.
17. To cite only one example of many, the photograph on page 50 of Volume 29, which is one of a whole series in that album which illustrate objects from the Boulak Museum in Cairo. The same image appears on p. 153 in Perez, 1988, and is identified as the work of Hippolyte Délié and E. Béchard, from their 1872 book, *Album du Musée Boulaq: Photographie par Délié et Béchard, avec Texte Explicatif par Auguste Mariette Bey*.
18. *Eothen*: 6.
19. *Eothen*: 20.
20. *Sunshine and Storm*: 204.
21. *Sunbeam*: 298. Although Lady Brassey specifically writes here that she took photographs, more often it is "we" who have taken photographs. Since in those cases the exact subject is not clear, context is important in determining whether she is referring to herself or others. In *Eothen*, for instance, while she generally uses "we," there is no evidence that any of the people in their party besides herself (her young children, her cousin Evie Robinson, and her husband and the two men who sailed with him) had any interest in photography. On other voyages it is more likely that some of the party, particularly the children's tutors or the doctor, were assisting with photography. There is no mention of the artists who traveled with the Brasseys taking photographs, and in any case, their time would have been taken up with their sketching duties, if the quantity of drawings which illustrate the four later books is any indication. In *The Last Voyage*, particularly in the last month of her life when she was quite ill, it is very unlikely that Lady Brassey took any of the photographs mentioned in the text, although she continues to use "we" in referring to the photography.
22. *The Last Voyage*: 92.

23. An example of such a correspondence is shown in Figure A.8 on page 198.
24. *The Last Voyage*: 136.
25. However, some of the photographs in these two albums are the work of professionals, for example, the two images in Volume 70 of the Brasseys' yacht *Eothen* moored on the St Lawrence river in Montreal which are signed by A. Henderson. They indicate that it was possible to commission a professional photographer to leave his studio in order to photograph a specific subject, in this case, the Brasseys' ship. The same practice is documented in a photograph in the collection of the Hastings Museum in England, which is signed on the negative by Zangaki and labeled "No. 459 Orizaba entre au Port Said." Beneath the photograph, on the page to which it has been pasted, is a handwritten label which reads, "Our vessel RMS 'Orizaba' entering Suez Canal at Port Said."
26. *The Last Voyage*: 415.
27. *Sunshine and Storm*: 41.
28. p. 164.
29. *The Last Voyage*: 281.
30. The Bulak Museum and Lady Brassey's photographic record of it are discussed in more detail below.
31. This was one of many kinds of boat used by Istanbul residents to navigate a city in which water travel was often a more efficient and pleasant alternative.
32. This is not to suggest, however, that the only reason for the existence of commercial photography in cities outside of Europe was to provide tourist souvenirs. To the contrary, as the new technology reached other parts of the world, it was embraced and the new medium incorporated into existing modes of production, communication, and consumption. For a discussion of this process in Ottoman Istanbul, see Micklewright, 1999.
33. There are some notable exceptions to this general situation, for example the work which has been done on the Bonfils firm, based in Beirut, by Carney E.S. Gavin, Mary Ellen Taylor, and others at the Harvard Semitic Museum, and recent monographs on the photographers James Robertson, G. Berggren, Ali Sami, and Felix Taynard.
34. Although this is true to some extent in many publishing arenas, in the history of photography, where there are many hundreds, or even thousands of extant images, the problem of the role of the editor or author in influencing the selection of images available to the reader is particularly acute.
35. The following brief discussion of literature in the photo history of the Middle East is restricted to book-length works. While there are many important articles which make significant contributions to the state of our knowledge, it is impossible to consider the entire bibliography on the subject here. The books considered (although not necessarily mentioned specifically) for this discussion include Adam, 1985; Alloula, 1987; Beauge and Çizgen, 1993; Bull and Lorimer, 1979; Çizgen, 1987 and 1989; Faber, 1986; Fleig, 1997; Gavin, 1982 and 1988; Graham-Brown, 1980 and 1988; Howe, 1993 and 1997; Khemir, 1994; Nir, 1986; Onne, 1980; Osman, 1997; Öztuncay, 1992; Perez, 1988; Vaczek and Buckland, 1981; Van Haaften and White, 1980; and Wigh, 1984. Please see the bibliography for complete citations for all of the works mentioned.
36. Van Haaften and White, 1980: xxv.
37. Beauge and Çizgen, 1993; Graham-Brown, 1980 and 1998; Onne, 1980; Gavin, 1988; Nir, 1985; and to a lesser degree, Osman, 1997.
38. In *Excursions Along the Nile*, Kathleen Howe points out that the same selection process was at work in the nineteenth century, in the 1852 publication of Maxime Du Camp's photographs of Egypt in which views of Arab villages were rejected by the publisher in favor of the sites of ancient Egypt (Howe, 1993: 27). Her two exhibition catalogues, Howe, 1993 and 1997, along with the works cited above (n. 35), do not participate in the general project of privileging picturesque or exotic views of the region which has characterized much of the publication in this area in the last three decades.

39. Modernization proceeded at a slower pace in the Holy Land, so the kind of disjuncture I am describing here is not as striking in published collections of photographs which focus on that region alone.
40. The complex and variable relationship between Europe/North America and the Middle East in the nineteenth century has become a major focus of study by historians, art historians, anthropologists, and many others. Their conclusions about the nature and consequences of interactions between the two regions are often extremely divergent. It is obviously impossible to list all, or even many, of the most important works in a footnote. Good bibliographies, constructed from a variety of perspectives, are provided in Çelik, 1986 and 1992; J. Davis, 1996; E. Edwards, 1992; Grewal, 1996; Kabbani, 1986; Lewis, 1996; Melman, 1992; and Stafford, 1984.
41. Ryan, 1997: 220.
42. The following discussion of commercial photography in the Middle East as it is reflected in the Brassey albums does not include the images of North Africa which are in the albums. In terms of both the history of photography, and nineteenth-century patterns of travel and tourism, North Africa is a place apart from the rest of the Middle East, not a part of the tour which usually included the antiquities of Egypt, important sites in the Holy Land, Constantinople, and the ruins of classical antiquity. Photographers active in other areas of the Middle East generally did not include images from North Africa in their catalogues, and most photographers of North Africa do not seem to have ventured into Egypt or other areas of the Middle East.
43. A surprising omission in the Brasseys' collection from the Middle East is any representation of the Holy Land, a subject which generally received a great deal of attention from British travelers to the region. The Brasseys visited Egypt and Syria (and presumably also the Holy Land since it lies between them) in 1869, when Lady Brassey contracted malaria and nearly died. There are a handful of photographs of Damascus and Baalbek at the back of Volume 33, but none from the Holy Land. While it is understandable that the Brasseys might have avoided the region following Lady Brassey's brush with death, images of important sights in the Holy Land would surely have been available from the commercial photographers' shops in Cairo and Istanbul where the Brasseys purchased photographs on their subsequent visits to those cities.
44. As far as possible, I have tried to understand the subject categories that the Brasseys might have been using in organizing their photographs into albums, and not to impose my own categories in the subsequent discussion. It is clear that there was some organizing principle involved, since the order in which the photographs appear is far from random. The information on the bindings is helpful to an extent, since those titles presumably reflect what the compilers considered to be the most important subjects of the albums.
45. The albums are discussed here in an order which seems to make sense based on their content. This is not necessarily related to their numerical order, since their volume numbers were assigned to them at the Huntington, not by those compiling the albums.

46. Stuck in at the back of the album, and not mentioned in the subjects listed on the spine, the inclusion of these seven photographs seems to have been an afterthought. The photographs, three full-size and four half-size plates, include five views of Baalbek, one of the Great Mosque in Damascus, and one unidentified site. Two are signed by Dumas; the others are unsigned.
47. By describing these views of antiquities as documentary, I do not intend to minimize the constructed nature of such views, nor to discount the influence of individual style in the production of photographs of antiquities. I am suggesting, however, that the primary motivation in the production of these views was the communication of information about the site, rather than the presentation of landscape or human subjects.
48. Of the sixty-three photographs I am describing as the work of Sebah, forty-eight bear his signature and the remaining fifteen have labels on the photograph which match the numbering system and writing style of those on his signed photographs.
49. Of the sixty-four photographs of Egypt in Volume 33, twenty-nine are signed by Sebah and twelve more can be attributed to him on the basis of the labels on the photographs. There are three images signed by Emile Béchard, one by Hammerschmidt, and eighteen with no visible labels.
50. According to Perez, Pascal Sebah, whose nationality is not known for certain, was active in commercial photography beginning in the 1870s through about 1890, and was the owner of a large studio in Constantinople, on the Grande Rue de Pera, the main shopping street of the European part of the city (Perez, 1988: 220–2). Engin Özendes, on the other hand, says that Pascal Sebah opened his first studio in 1857 and died in 1886, with his business being taken over first by his brother Cosmi, and then by Pascal's son Jean, who by 1889 formed a partnership with Policarpe Joaillier. Unfortunately, she does not provide any documentation for her information (Özendes, 1999: 334–5).
51. My use of the pronoun "he" is deliberate, since, with the possible exception of Lydie Bonfils whose role in the family photography business is unclear, there is no evidence of any women commercial photographers in the region.
52. See, to cite only one example, Amelia Edwards's 1877 description of her arrival at the site of Philae in Upper Egypt: "As the boat glides nearer between glistening boulders, those sculptured towers rise higher and ever higher against the sky. They show no sign of ruin or of age. All looks solid, stately, perfect. One forgets for a moment that anything is changed. If a sound of antique chanting were to be borne along the quiet air – if a procession of white-robed priests bearing aloft the veiled ark of God were to come sweeping round between the palms and the pylons – we should not think it strange" (quoted in Clayton, 1982: 162).
53. Published in Faber, 1986: 55.
54. For a reproduction of Béchard's version, see Bull and Lorimer, 1979: 33; for Lekegian, see Thomas, 1979b: 161, and for Abdullah Frères, see Perez, 1988: 47.
55. Faber, 1986: 56.
56. The Arnoux image is illustrated in Bull and Lorimer, 1979: xvii. A second published example of a similar subject is attributed to Fiorillo by Perez (1988) and appears on p. 18.
57. Faber, 1986: 27.
58. Please see below, Chapter 5, for a discussion of some possible reasons for the inclusion of such images in photograph albums.

59. The Bulak Museum came into existence in 1854, created by the Khedive Said Pasha, at the urging of Auguste Mariette, the French archaeologist who worked at Saqqara and other sites. Mariette was appointed first director of the museum, and the collection was housed in the old post office building at Bulak. The building was not particularly well designed for use as a museum, and the collection of antiquities grew so rapidly as more and more ancient sites were examined by various European enthusiasts (few of whom should be called archaeologists), that by 1889 the collection had to be moved. The site chosen was the Palace of Jizah, built about two decades earlier by the Khedive Ismail on the left bank of the Nile. This site too was considered unsuitable for a museum, and under the British a new museum was built for the antiquities collection, which opened in 1902.
60. The last page of the album is interesting – the photograph, with a label in the style of Sebah, has been carefully pasted in on top of a very slightly larger photograph. Part of the name 'Sebah' is just barely visible at the lower right corner of the bottom photograph.
61. According to Perez, from the time that he is thought to have arrived in Egypt, 1869, until the mid-1870s, Emile Béchard had a partner, Hippolyte Délié, with whom he collaborated on the Bulak project (1988: 132). The book, whose full title is *Album du Musée Boulaq: Photographie par Délié et Béchard, avec Texte Explicatif par Auguste Mariette Bey*, appeared in 1872, although Perez dates the two photographs he reproduces from the project to 1870. There is no evidence of Délié's signature on any of the images from their joint project which are included in the Brassey collection.
62. Perez, op. cit.: 154.
63. According to Perez, a French photographer named Emile Brugsch, who was also associate curator of the Bulak Museum for a time, collaborated with Gaston Maspero, director of the Museums of Cairo, to produce a book illustrated with Brugsch's photographs of some of the Bulak collections which appeared in 1881. It is possible that some of the unsigned photographs in Volume 29 are the work of Brugsch, or even of other photographers whose association with the museum may not yet have come to light.
64. Perez, op. cit.: 154.
65. The same photograph, with no label on the photograph or the page, appears in Volume 30, p. 54, in the midst of photographs of Egyptian people and villages along the Nile.
66. There are a few penciled in labels in this album, but most of the photographs have no added labels, and quite a few have been trimmed so that the original labels on the photographs themselves have been lost.
67. According to Perez, the German photographer W. Hammerschmidt began working in Cairo in about 1860 (Perez, 1988: 174).
68. Reproduced in Perez, p. 175 as "Rice Vendor, Cairo," and dated 1870s.
69. *Sunbeam*: 469.
70. In the discussion which follows, the architectural or landscape views in the two albums will be considered separately, as they were apparently conceived by the organizer of the photographs. However, since it is impossible to see any organizing principles governing the division of the photographs of people into two separate albums, those views will be discussed as a single group.
71. In Volume 32, the photographs on pages 37–9 are labeled Jardin de l'Esbekieh on the image, and Esbekieh Gardens on the page. On pages 51, 52, and 55–9, photographs labeled Jardin de Guesireh on the negative are identified as

Esbekieh Gardens on the page below the image. Since the two gardens are similar in style, the mistake is easy to understand. Both were designed by the same French landscape designer, Barillet-Deschamps, whom Ismail hired following his visit to the Universal Exhibition in Paris in 1867. The gardens on the island of al-Jazirah surrounding the palace were completed for the visit of the French Empress Eugenie in 1868, while the Azbakiya project was at least partially completed in time for the festivities held to mark the opening of the Suez Canal in November 1869, with the official dedication of the garden in 1872.

72. Exceptions to this general rule include Abu-Lughod, 1971 and Behrens-Abouseif, 1985 (each of which have good bibliographies), as well as the work of Muhammad Al-Asad, 1992, and a recent book by Sakr, *Early Twentieth Century Islamic Architecture in Cairo*.
73. For example, a German visitor to Cairo, Georg Ebers, described the garden as follows in his 1879 book: "the public garden in the middle is one of the loveliest in the world. One that has more quickly sprung into life and perfection certainly exists nowhere else. In the quite early morning hours the visitor may enjoy a solitary walk under the broad shade of its spreading trees, charmed with the beauty of the shrubs that border the well-kept paths, the growth of every zone; in the afternoon he mixes here with the crowd, listening to the finest compositions of European musicians performed by the Egyptian band – not forgetting to admire the vegetation that surrounds him, to look into the artificial grottoes, and to walk round the large basin in the middle of the garden" (Ebers, 1879, II: 29ff.).
74. Lane-Poole, 1971: 1.
75. Lady Brassey's reaction to the redesigning of the city was quite typical: "We went across squares and gardens and through wide streets, for, alas! Cairo is being rapidly Haussmannised. For the capitalist or the resident, Cairo may be improved, but for the traveller, the artist, the lover of the picturesque, the quaint, and the beautiful, the place is ruined. ... Only a few narrow streets and old houses are still left, with carved wooden lattices, where you can yet dream that the 'Arabian Nights' are true" (*Sunbeam*: 469). While she appreciated the newly renovated and more comfortable Shepheard's Hotel, and was happy to attend concerts and operas at the various new theaters, Lady Brassey also wished (as did many other visitors to the city in this period) that Cairo would stay suitably exotic, unchanged, available to her as a tourist experience.
76. Labeled merely "Elephant" and "Giraffes" on the two photographs, these images show an early stage in the Cairo Zoological Gardens which still occupies part of the Orman Gardens, the largest of Barillet-Dechamps's landscape projects in Cairo.
77. Volume 28, page 40.
78. As is discussed above, photographers did not construct their works out of thin air – they too were affected by perceived stereotypes, traditions of representation in photography and other media, and their own ideas of what would sell. However, it is also important to remember that commercial photographers in the major cities of the Middle East would have had business relationships of different kinds with local residents. While they hired locals as subjects to produce images for tourists, they were also hired in turn by local residents who wished to have their portraits made or who wished to commission photographs to document important family or business events.
79. Most commercial photographers operating in Egypt at this time used wet collodion negatives which were oversensitive to blue light, so that skies most often were overexposed by the time the negative had been exposed to achieve sufficient detail in the foreground, and thus printed white. Cloudy skies could be achieved either by a short exposure time, or by producing a print using two negatives. (I am grateful to Gordon Baldwin, Associate Curator of Photographs at the J. Paul Getty Museum for clarifying this technical issue for me.) Aspects of the technical qualities of the wet collodion negative/albumen print processes, as well as the appearance of clouds in the work of the photographer Francis Bedford, are discussed below, in Chapter 5.
80. Schwartz, 1996: 29.
81. It is so unusual to see colored albumen prints from this region, and the quality of the hand-coloring is so poor, compared to the professional quality of hand-colored albumen prints from Japan and elsewhere, that it is tempting to consider these the work of some of the Brassey children, or even of the artists who sometimes traveled with the Brasseys, who would have been unfamiliar with the intricacies of such work.
82. Members of the Mevlevi order of dervishes were called "turning" or "whirling" dervishes because of the ritualized dancing, *sema*, which was part of their tradition. The photograph shown in Fig. 3.20 is labeled "Derviche torneur," but the figure would be identified as a member of the Mevlevi order in any case based on his dress. For a good discussion of the Mevlevi order, especially their costume and ritual, see Atasoy, 1992.
83. This discussion does not include the images of women which are part of the three pages of cartes-de-visite on the first three pages of Volume 32. Their small size, as well as the amateurish tinting of several of the cartes, contributes to an overall lack of clarity in the images.
84. See for example Alloula, 1987, or Fleig, 1997.
85. Because of the light tones of the foreground, the label on the photograph is very hard to read, but on the original it is just visible enough to identify it as Sebah's work.
86. This photograph, along with another of Sebah's works, a view of two male water carriers and a veiled woman holding a water jug to be filled (Brassey Volume 32, page 14), are reproduced in Colin Osman's very interesting work on photography in Egypt, *Egypt: Caught in Time*. He theorizes that these may be early twentieth-century examples of amateur photography, on the basis of their more naturalistic poses. However, the fact that they are both signed by Sebah on the negative and appear in albums which were completed shortly after 1887 at the latest, places these photographs squarely in the oeuvre of late nineteenth-century commercial photography.
87. The image which I am describing as the second half of this two-part sequence is reproduced in Vaczek and Buckland, 1981: 113, where it is identified as the work of Gaston Braun, from 1869. Vaczek and Buckland identify Braun as the son of the French photographer Adolphe Braun, who they say sent his son to Egypt in 1869 to photograph the opening of the Suez Canal. Perez, on the other hand, believes that the Egypt photographs were taken by Adolphe Braun himself, who together with his Paris representative, Mouilleron, was the only photographer invited to the opening ceremonies of the Canal (1988: 141–2). To complicate matters still further, the same photograph, reproduced in Fleig, 1997: 112, is attributed there to Henri Béchard, on the basis of formal similarities to other unsigned works attributed to Henri Béchard. Without some more compelling evidence, none of the attributions is convincing.

88. This photograph is reproduced in Vazcek and Buckland, 1981: 197, and identified as the work of Sebah.
89. See Alloula, 1987; Baldwin, 1996; Dennis, 1994; Graham-Brown, 1988; Harper, 1985; Kabbani, 1986; Lewis, 1996; Nochlin, 1983; and Said, 1979 to mention only a few places where one may find a discussion of this topic.
90. Said (1979) and Alloula (1987) in particular suffer in this respect, although Kabbani's otherwise very convincing arguments are weakened by her lack of attention to issues of gender.
91. Lewis's excellent 1996 work, *Gendering Orientalism: Race, Femininity and Representation*, is a pioneering effort in this regard.
92. While a more detailed analysis of the photographic representation of women in the Middle East is outside the bounds of this study, it is long overdue. The only book-length work on this subject is Sarah Graham-Brown's 1988 *Images of Women*, which although excellent, is already fifteen years old. A great deal of new material has come to light in the intervening years.
93. See particularly Lewis, 1996; Melman, 1992; Mills, 1991; Morgan, 1996; Pratt, 1992; Ryan, 1997; and Schwartz, 1996.
94. With the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 (in which it had invested heavily), and culminating with the British occupation of Egypt following the bombardment of Alexandria in 1882, Britain became increasingly involved in the affairs of Egypt. Control of Egypt was considered essential to Britain's imperial interests, and the bombardment of Alexandria began what would eventually be a 74-year occupation of the region by British forces.
95. Of Italian origin, L. Fiorillo is thought to have arrived in Alexandria around 1870. Perhaps the only photographer to have remained in the city during the bombardment, his album of images is an important document of the event and its aftermath. Perez, 1988: 163.
96. The armored train, used in the bombardment of Alexandria, had been developed in 1871 for the British War Office. It ensured the security of British lines in Egypt and compensated, at least to some extent, for the lack of cavalry. The locomotive was protected with iron rails and sand bags, and was placed in the middle of the train, behind a number of empty cars, to prevent any damage to the locomotive by enemy mines. For more on military technology in this war, see Hermann Vogt, *The Egyptian War of 1882*.
97. Other photographs from their trip on the *Gazelle* in 1883 are in Volume 70.
98. In 1882 Tewfik Pasha, who served as Khedive from 1879 to 1892.
99. Tried by the British after they took over the administration of Egypt for his part in inciting the nationalist uprising, Ahmad Urabi was sentenced to death, although his sentence was reduced to lifelong exile in Sri Lanka.
100. See Ryan, *Picturing Empire*, Chapter 3, for an excellent discussion of the use of photography in the context of Victorian military practice.
101. Considering the incredibly hectic pace which the Brasseys maintained while they were on land during their travels, especially in Cairo where they had many acquaintances among the British community and often had official or semi-official duties, it would not be too surprising if their choice of photographers was merely expedient – a matter of buying in quantity from the shops they visited instead of taking the time to visit each photographer's shop.
102. The work of Perez, of course, being a notable exception.
103. According to Perez, 1988: 132, 153–4. Osman (1997: 141) says that Emile Béchard was working with Délié in the 1890s.
104. With the exception of Perez's work, in which four of his photographs are reproduced, and one photograph in Bull and Lorimer, 1979. They also publish ten photographs identified as the work of Henri Béchard, of which only three have visible signatures. Based on similarities with signed photographs in the Brassey albums, I would identify several of the remaining seven as the work of Emile Béchard.

105. This photograph is not signed, but others in this album which have the same plants in the background are signed E. Béchard on the negative. See Volume 30, pages 29 and 30.
106. In his discussion of Henri Béchard, Perez states that he opened his studio in the garden of Ezbekia in Cairo (p. 132). The same information appears in Howe (1993: 157) and Osman (1997: 141).
107. *Sunbeam*: 467.
108. The palace which Lady Brassey visited at Çırağan was actually the fifth imperial palace to stand on the site, the original structure dating from the seventeenth century. After standing as a ruined shell for eighty years after the fire of 1910, the marble facade of one part of the late nineteenth-century palace became the centerpiece of a luxury hotel in the early 1990s. For a summary of the complex history of the site, as well as a discussion of the Çırağan photographs in Volume 62, see Micklewright, 1999.
109. Furthermore, one photograph from this series, a dramatic view of a long corridor with receding doors, appears in the 1988 publication by Philip Mansel, *Sultans in Splendour: The Last Years of the Ottoman World*. (According to the photocredits, the source of the photograph was Galerie Texbraun.)
110. Two of the Izmir photographs serve as the basis for illustrations in *Sunshine and Storm*, where they are identified as "Photograph by Mrs. Brassey." A third illustration in that book, "Smryna Camel," is derived from a photograph in the album, but not one by Lady Brassey. The well-known commercial photographers of Istanbul, Sebah and Joaillier, and Abdullah Frères, could well have produced images of Izmir, although none of these bears their signature. There was also at least one professional photographer, Alexander Svoboda, active in Izmir beginning in the mid-1850s. Although it is unclear how long he remained in business, it is possible that the Brasseys purchased some photographs from him when they were in Izmir in 1874. Svoboda is discussed in Perez, 1988: 225, and Beauge and Çizgen, 1993: 264.
111. Lady Brassey's father-in-law, Thomas Brassey Sr (1805–70) was a businessman who amassed his fame and fortune (at his death he was reportedly worth £5 million) from the construction of new railway lines all over the British empire. Although Thomas Brassey Jr did not follow his father in that business, the family nonetheless took an active interest in visiting Brassey Sr's projects in various parts of the world, and in railway engineering generally. For them, as for their compatriots, railways were inextricably linked to ideas of progress and improvement, both social and economic.
112. Of the nineteen photographs in this last section of the album, twelve contain views of buildings which can be identified with Edirne: the Selimiye Mosque, the Eski Cami, the Üç Şerefeli Cami, and the Beyazit complex. There are seven photographs which I cannot identify definitely with Edirne, but which are similar in tonal range and size to the others, and because of their placement among the other Edirne photographs seem to belong with them.
113. A photographer, Dimitris Michailides, is mentioned in Xanthakis's *History of Greek Photography* (the only easily accessible work on the subject) as a photographer who worked in Istanbul after 1875, and who produced an

illustrated travel book on Thessalonika (1988: 121). Çizgen lists him as being active in Edirne and Istanbul with no other information given (1987: 47–8).

114. There were of course exceptions to this general rule. In Cairo and Istanbul, for instance, the Brasseys had acquaintances among the local elite, whom they met at the houses of British friends and with whom they visited. Lady Brassey seems to have truly enjoyed her friendship with some of these women, whom she knew over a period of some years. Language was no doubt an important factor, since the Brasseys spoke only English and French, thus limiting their easy communication to those who could also speak either English or French. In the case of their Middle Eastern acquaintances, French would have been the common language. While in Hawaii on their 1876–77 voyage, the Brasseys were entertained by, and in turn welcomed on board the *Sunbeam*, the King and Queen of Hawaii, and other members of the royal family (with whom they spoke English). Four years later, in 1881, the King visited them at Normanhurst. Similarly, when they visited Canada and the United States in 1872 they had a great deal of contact with members of the political and social elite of each country.

CHAPTER FOUR

Photograph Albums as Constructions of Realities

In the period from about 1860 until 1890 as tourists traveled all over the world in ever increasing numbers, images purchased from the shops of commercial photographers were essential souvenirs. Guidebooks directed visitors to the best shops where consumers could choose from hundreds of views, buying individual photographs or pre-packaged sets.[1] Many enterprising businessmen/photographers offered their customers views of neighboring regions, as well as local sights.[2] Thousands of the photographs purchased as souvenirs on trips to see the Holy Land, Constantinople, or the antiquities of ancient Egypt have turned up in museum archives and libraries in Europe and North America. Although large numbers of the photographs are loose, single images, many remain in the albums in which they were assembled by their original owners.

Once the photograph, itself a complex object whose meaning and interpretation is fluid and contingent, is inserted into an album, it acquires an additional set of functions and meanings. Like the photograph, the album must be analyzed as an object with its own set of meanings and properties.[3] As a construction which orders a visual record, the album is a means by which the compiler organizes a particular subject for presentation to an audience. Although the photograph album has come to be virtually synonymous with the family album in popular understanding,[4] albums can address a variety of functions: they can be autobiographical, memorial, didactic, or documentary, to mention only the most obvious purposes for which albums are produced. In fact none of the albums considered here are family albums. Instead, they are autobiographical, didactic, or documentary, or embody a combination of these characteristics.

It may seem to belabor the obvious to say that the physical structure of the photograph album is dependent on the physical form of the photograph. However, just as every aspect of photographic practice is intimately affected by changes in its technology, so too the album is directly linked in its physical form to the kinds of photographs it was intended to contain. The earliest photograph albums were designed to display the collections of cartes-de-visite and later, cabinet photos, which were extremely popular beginning in the 1850s. Their pages, of heavy cardboard, were cut to allow two or four images to be slotted into each page, and were completely unsuitable for the

kinds of photographs which were collected by travelers beginning in the 1860s. The albums which we will examine are generally larger than the earlier ones, to accommodate the larger glass plate negatives used by most commercial photographers for travel photographs. Their pages, of stiff paper or board, are uncut, allowing the album compiler to decide how to arrange the images on each page.

The study of a photograph album as an object in its own right requires a full consideration of the physical properties of the album, or its materiality. Its binding, the kind of paper or board it contains, and other aspects of its structure as a book,[5] the way in which photographs are arranged within the album, whether other objects, for example cards or dried flowers are included, the absence or presence of written labels, all contribute to the finished product.

The idea of the photographic assemblage is a central aspect of photographic albums, taking a variety of forms. In the Brassey albums we find individual photographs presenting carefully arranged groups, as for example in several of Lady Brassey's photographs, ephemeral arrangements of objects photographed to record their temporary relationship to each other (Fig. 3.2). But we also find the album page serving as the background against which a series of photographs is assembled, as in Volume 21 which presents several pages of views of Canada and the United States, taken by Lady Brassey in 1872. This assemblage also preserves the ephemeral, in this case the memories of a specific journey or series of sights. Indeed, the entire album project could be understood as an enormous assemblage, an interpretation strengthened by the association of the albums with the museum collection. Just as the thousands of objects which Lady Brassey acquired for her museum were painstakingly arranged in display cases, so too were the 6,000 or so photographs placed in albums, in particular order, two-dimensional assemblies intended to inform the visitor of the three-dimensional contexts of the objects in the nearby galleries. Both Lady Brassey's photographs and her museum objects were ordered in various ways by the boundaries of their physical presentation, the album or the display case.

With her museum collection, along with her travel books and photograph albums, Lady Brassey was attempting to re-create the world as she encountered it, and to re-present it to her readers and visitors to the museum. Her eye, her pen, her hand as the collector would be the means through which those "who did not have her opportunities for travel" would learn about the world, as she created it for them. The photograph albums, a collection within a collection, are central to this project of re-presenting the world. Just as the objects in the cases presented a certain set of knowledge, so too the photograph albums, themselves a series of constructed images carefully ordered in a sequence, created a world to parallel that presented by the objects. While the visual boundaries of this photographic world may have

appeared extensive, it was in fact equally as emphatic in its constructedness as the museum collection.

Lady Brassey's various projects, her books, photograph albums, and museum, addressed diverse audiences simultaneously. As her writing career unfolded, the books which had their origin in letters sent home to be circulated among friends and family became more formal and comprehensive in their scope, and reached an English-reading audience all around the globe. Her museum collections were exhibited in different venues during her lifetime, including her own home, the South Kensington Museum, and the Brassey Institute in Hastings. According to her husband's comments in *The Last Voyage*, her intention in setting up her museum was "to afford instruction and recreation to the members of the Working Men's Clubs, to whom she proposed to give constant facilities of access to the collection."[6] In the end, however, the museum which opened after her death was located in the Brasseys' Park Lane home, a very different place from the public Brassey Institute in Hastings (where Working Men's Clubs had met during Lady Brassey's lifetime). It is unlikely that the working men to whom Lord Brassey referred would have made their way in large numbers to an exclusive London address. The photograph albums addressed the same varied audience as Lady Brassey's books and museum collection, comprised of people from a range of social positions. At this distance it is difficult to gauge the effect that the specific (possibly) working class audience envisioned by Lady Brassey for her work would have had on exactly how the photograph albums or museum collections were structured, given that they were at the same time directed towards an audience of friends and family.

Of Lady Brassey's two collections, museum objects and photograph albums, it is the photograph albums which have survived, more or less intact, to evoke the larger, now fragmentary museum project of which they were originally a part. At a certain point, most likely shortly after Lady Brassey's death, the photograph albums were probably considered to be finished. But it is not accurate to describe a photograph album as a finished product. Once its original compiler considers an album complete, or stops working on it, the album begins its own life. As it becomes further and further distanced from its compiler, its audience's understanding of its narrative will change. Additional labels may be added by subsequent owners to change/clarify the meaning of particular images. New material may even be added to bring the album narrative up to date for its current audience. What was once a personal or family album may enter a public museum or library to become a document of local history. As with any project of historical inquiry, it is essential both to acknowledge the long life of the object and to identify the period in the life of the object which is the subject of study. In the examination of the albums which follows, I am looking at them as they were originally constituted by their owners.[7]

The owner or compiler of the album is a central figure in the analysis of that album. As one author describes the process,

> The compiler of an album ... selects photographs for inclusion, comments on them in captions, and juxtaposes them so that the interaction of the photographs on the page and the sequence of the pages in the album become part of the message. Photograph albums therefore present a highly selective view of their subjects.[8]

Since it is the compiler who creates the "highly selective view" which the album presents, understanding his or her role and intentions (to the extent that the historical record allows) is important. Was the compiler seeking to record an aspect of his or her own life? Was it compiled on behalf of someone else? Who was the intended audience of the album? To what extent do the images included in the album provide a context for the life of the compiler?

In my analysis of the albums, I assume that they all began with an implied or explicit narrative, which may or may not have been carried through the entire album. In some cases, depending on the arrangement of the images and the presence of additional labels, the narrative and the hand of the compiler are more obvious. But in all cases, I would assert that the compiler had an organizing principle in mind as she or he confronted the pile of photographs which were to be placed in the album. Using the arrangement of photographs as a way of ordering time and experience, the compiler is also constructing history, and in the case of some albums examined here, knowledge of a particular situation or place. The choice of image and their sequential relationships serves to reproduce a dominant ideology or to subvert it, or both. If a single photographic image embodies shifting meanings, then an album of multiple photographic images is even less likely to present a fixed and stable view of its subject.

Considering the large numbers of British visitors to the Middle East in the last decades of the nineteenth century, the diversity in the size and type of the photograph albums which record their experiences is not surprising. The Brassey family albums, with their innumerable volumes and handsome bindings, are among the most elaborate. Much more common are the collections, in one or two volumes, which document a shorter voyage or military posting. These collections generally consist of commercial photographs from various locations, in different sizes, mounted in purchased albums. The albums range in size and are usually cloth bound with leather spine and corners. The number of pages also varies considerably. In some cases the photographs are carefully labeled, arranged in chronological or geographic order, but in other albums the photographs are merely pasted in, in no apparent order and with no labels. Some of the albums are more like scrapbooks, with Christmas cards and other memorabilia included, while others are apparently organized to document a trip and contain only photographs.

In the pages that follow a series of photograph albums are examined. Selected to be as representative as possible of the variety of albums produced by British visitors to the Middle East, these examples were compiled by people whose reasons for being in the region differed dramatically, as did their knowledge of what they encountered and the amount of time they spent there. Thus there are significant differences among these albums, in the scale of the project, the circumstances in which the album compiler visited the region, the numbers of photographs which appear in the albums, the album format, and so on. Indeed the fact of differences among the albums is the point of their comparison. A close study of this group of albums points out both similarities and differences in how these British visitors constructed their experiences of the Middle East in their photograph albums.

The Blyth albums

George Francis Popham Blyth was consecrated Bishop of the Church of England in Jerusalem and the East on March 25, 1887, and arrived in Jerusalem two months later, in May. He had been educated at Lincoln College, Oxford, and had formerly been Archdeacon in Rangoon.[9] Blyth had been carefully chosen by Edward Benson, Archbishop of Canterbury, as the first incumbent in the Anglican bishopric in Jerusalem which replaced the ill-fated joint British–Prussian bishopric of 1842–81.[10] He remained in Jerusalem as bishop until 1914; his tenure as bishop was controversial in some ways, but he seems to have established good relationships with the Jerusalem patriarchs and local authorities, and became very involved with educational work among the local residents.[11] By the time Blyth arrived in Jerusalem, the focus of British missionary activity was beginning to shift from attempting to convert the Jews and Eastern Christians to exposing the non-Christian residents to the Christian way of life through education and example. His efforts reflect this newer approach to missionary work.

Blyth's stay in Jerusalem is documented in three albums of photographs, now in the collection of the British Museum in London.[12] According to what is written on the inside front cover of each of the albums, the photographs were collected and assembled in the albums by Mrs Blyth between about 1888 and 1892. Each album has approximately fifty-five pages; volumes one and three are completely filled, while the second volume has only thirty pages of photographs. The page dimensions are 28 × 31 cm, and there is generally one photograph mounted on each page.[13] The 158 photographs are a combination of the widely available commercial views of Bonfils and other well-known photographic studios, and images taken privately to document particular events or places of interest to Blyth or his family.

Fig. 4.1 Blyth Volume 1, page 28 (Copyright The British Museum)

Most of the commercial photographs are views of religious sites in Jerusalem and various locations in Palestine. Images from further afield, Alexandria, Cairo, Constantinople, Athens, and Cyprus, were no doubt collected in the course of visits to those places. Blyth's responsibilities for Jerusalem *and* the East (meaning, apparently, Egypt, Palestine, and the Levant) took him away from Jerusalem from time to time, and he was probably often accompanied by his family on those trips. Several photographs in the albums corroborate what is known about Blyth's career from other sources. For instance, on page 28 of the first volume is a group photograph, taken in an outdoor courtyard (Fig. 4.1). The seven men standing at the back and three women seated in front are identified by name in captions written in ink.[14] Two additional notes, below and alongside the image, in pencil, say, "Traveling party with Bishop, 1887" and "Taken on the Bishop's first Visitation Tour through Palestine, after his Consecration, and before his family had joined him, owing to a lack of accommodation at Jerusalem." Tibawi mentions that upon his arrival in Jerusalem, Blyth "spent considerable time visiting the various English and native congregations within the area of his jurisdiction."[15] Fifteen of the images preceding the group portrait in the album could have been collected on this first tour of Bishop Blyth, as they are all from areas outside Jerusalem: Baalbek, Beirut, Damascus, the Dead Sea, Nazareth, and Samaria. Of those photographs whose labels are legible, two, of Mount Carmel, were taken by F. Quarelli,[16] and the other eleven by the Bonfils firm.[17] A second group portrait, on page 26 of the album, is perhaps also from the Bishop's tour. There is no professional label visible, and the subject is identified by the caption beneath it on the page which reads, "Bedouin Arabs." The image consists of fifteen men arranged in two rows, with two on the ground in front, set against a rocky cliff, all squinting into the sun. Each man in the picture is brandishing some sort of weapon – rifle, pistol, sword, or stick – probably at the request of the (amateur) photographer who composed the picture.

Tibawi says that Blyth declined to live in the "Bishop's Palace" adjoining Christ Church, both the property of the London Jews Society, preferring to live in a private, rented house.[18] This fact is also corroborated by the caption on the photograph on page 28, mentioned above, as well as by the two images on the following page, 29, which are labeled "Bishop's chapel" and "Bishop's House – Jerusalem." Additional information was added in ink, at the bottom of the page, "Bishop Blyth's first house and chapel at Jerusalem, 1887–1891," and in the middle of the page, below the upper photograph, "Exterior of Chapel." Living in rented quarters was not satisfactory, and soon after his arrival in Jerusalem Blyth began raising money for the establishment of a new mission and the construction of a bishop's residence, among other buildings.

Since Blyth and his family lived in Jerusalem, it is not surprising that many of the photographs in the albums are scenes of the city. There are forty

images of Jerusalem, twenty-four in volume one and sixteen in volume two. Half of them can be identified as the work of commercial photographers, primarily Bonfils, by the labels on the images.[19] With the exception, perhaps, of one image of a church by the Armenian photographer, Garabed Krikorian, these commercial photographs would have been widely available.

The views of Jerusalem in volume one are divided into two groups. The first eleven pages of the album contain an overview of the major religious sites of the city: two general views, the Garden of Gethsemane, several images of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and one view of the Dome of the Rock, labeled as the Mosque of Omar by Bonfils. Nine of these photographs have commercial labels, and five have additional captions, added presumably by Mrs Blyth. To a Bonfils image labeled, "Vue de Jerusalem prise du Nord-Palestine," she has added "Russian Church and Conculate (sic)." The photograph on page 8 by Fiorillo (Fig. 4.2), which shows the Holy Week ceremony of the washing of the feet in the courtyard of the Holy Sepulchre, has this interesting note added: "This shows the Patriarch Nicodemus, who was afterwards deposed and exiled to Constantinople, on a charge on intriguing with Russia." Two photographs on pages 9 and 10, which have no commercial labels, have notations beneath them which identify their subjects as "Domes of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre" and "Church of St Constantine and Domes of the Holy Sepulchre," respectively.

The second group of Jerusalem images follows the series, discussed above, which seems to document Blyth's initial tour of Palestine. None of the thirteen images has a commercial label, although twelve of them are each identified by a caption written below on the page. All of these are half-size prints, mounted two to a page. Five show places of particular relevance to the Blyths, for instance the bishop's first house in Jerusalem (page 29), the view over the city from the bishop's house (pages 30, 31), and the exterior of Christ Church (page 31). Six of the remaining eight photographs are religious sites and two are street scenes. Although it seems clear that some of these unsigned images, particularly those which would not have been of interest to a wide public, are the work of amateur photographers, others do not seem to be. The lower image on page 36, labeled "Jews Wailing," is identical to a Bonfils photograph of the same scene, numbered 154 on the negative, and perhaps others of these may also be identified as the work of commercial photographers.[20]

Of the twelve photographs of Jerusalem in volume two which are the work of commercial photographers, ten show important religious sites in the city or religious ceremonies. The remaining two images are street scenes, one by the Jaffa Gate, and one by the Tower of David, in which two signs, one advertising the London Jews Society Book Depot and the other the Mission to the Jews House of Industry, are clearly visible. There are four views of Jerusalem in volume two whose photographers cannot be identified. They

Le lavement des pieds des Grecs dans la Cour du St Sépulcre
This shews the Patriarch Nicodemus, who was
and exiled to Constantinople, on a charge of

Fig. 4.2 Blyth Volume 1, page 8 (Copyright The British Museum).

show the Dome of the Rock and two images of the Mosque of al-Aqsa. The fourth photograph, on page 16, is smaller than usual (13.3 × 11 cm) and depicts a courtyard with a church building on one side and another building, perhaps a church school, on another. There is a written label on the back of the photograph, but it is not legible from the front. In contrast to volumes one

and three, virtually no captions were added to the pages in this album, so it is not possible to identify the image on page16 with any certainty, but it could very well be some of the mission buildings in Jerusalem.

Photographs chosen by the Blyths to record their trips outside Jerusalem show the same interest in religious sites which distinguishes their Jerusalem selections. They appear to have made two trips to Egypt, or at least to have divided their Egyptian photographs into two groups, as they are arranged in the albums. Album one contains twelve views from Egypt, eight of which are the fairly predictable views of the Nile, pyramids, and people on camels which appealed to most foreign visitors to Egypt, since they turn up over and over in collections of photographs from the Middle East. There are four less commonly found photographs in this group: a view of modern Alexandria, a photograph labeled on the page "Moslem Graveyard," an image entitled "Lac Timsah,"[21] and a very unusual composite page containing ten neatly labeled images of buildings.[22] Ten of the Egyptian images can be identified as the work of commercial photographers by the labels, sometimes fragmentary, visible on the work.[23]

The thirteen images from Egypt included in volume three, with two exceptions, again demonstrate the Blyths' interest in religious subjects, for they all show religious monuments or festivals. All but one are signed and labeled by well-known commercial photographers of Cairo, and no captions have been added.[24] Included among the Blyths' selections are the Mosque of 'Amr, the Mosque of al-Azhar, the Mosque of Ibrahim Aga,[25] and two general views of Mamluk mosques. The Blyths seem to have been choosing their photographs to obtain a representative sampling of religious monuments, rather than well-known architectural masterpieces, for they also included two photographs of new mosques in modern Cairo as well as a view of the Church of the Epiphany in Port Said. One photograph in this group is not of a building, but of a religious festival, according to the label, which reads, "Zangaki No. 444 Caire Ziker Fete arabe."[26]

Nearly all of the images considered so far have been buildings, street scenes, or landscapes. The people of the Middle East, so prominent in most published collections of nineteenth-century photographs of the region, have been almost completely absent. The Blyths' photographs of people are nearly all grouped together, in the first nineteen pages of volume three. Fifteen of these twenty-three images are the work of Bonfils, and depict the variety of people living in Palestine: "Cheik musulman," "Groupe de Bedouines syriennes," and "Marchands dans les rues de Jerusalem," to name a few. Three of these images show religious figures, or people at prayer. A fourth, labeled on the photograph "Juifs de Jerusalem," is further identified on the page below with the caption, "Polish Jew, Yemenite Jew," and arrows pointing to the two figures. Another page displays three small photographs (each approximately 10 × 13 cm) which are apparently souvenirs of a trip to

Constantinople.[27] At least two of them, and perhaps all three, are the work of G. Berggren, the Swedish photographer who worked in Constantinople.[28] The three images are labeled on the page as "Moslem Gentleman at Home," "Turkish Lady," and "Moslem Lady in Walking Dress."

The photographs on the last three pages in this section of the album document again the particular interests of the Blyths, in this case by depicting other members of the religious community in Jerusalem. On page 18 there is a portrait, identified by the caption below as "The Greek Archimandrite Stephanos." The same figure appears in an image on the next page, along with four other Greek priests and six other male members of the Greek Orthodox religious order. Above that photograph, on the same page, is a second one, of two Greek priests in a courtyard setting. A fourth photograph of Greek priests appears on page 17, labeled below, "Greek Deacon and Three Priests." Also on that page is an image of an unveiled woman and four children, posed in a courtyard, perhaps members of the Bishop's mission.

None of these last five photographs has a commercial label or signature. Of the 158 photographs in the albums, 104 may definitely be identified as the work of commercial photographers, mostly Bonfils. A number of the remaining images are probably also the work of commercial studios, which cannot be identified because the label is no longer legible, or was trimmed off. However, there are also photographs which must have been taken by people associated with the Bishop, for instance the three in album three which show Bishop Blyth's camp under Mt Carmel (page 35). Other photographs, such as the ones mentioned previously of the bishop's house and chapel, or those labeled "View over the city from the Bishop's House," would probably not have been taken by commercial photographers. It seems likely that these are the work of the photographers associated with the London Jews Society or other missions in Jerusalem.[29]

Looking through the three Blyth albums does not give us much of a sense of the family or their life at their mission in Jerusalem. Although we know that the albums were compiled by Mrs Blyth, they are not particularly personal. There are none of the photographs of growing children or holiday celebrations which are the mainstay of most family albums. The purpose of these albums seems to have been quite different; rather than capturing events in the life of a family, these pages present the professional life of a bishop and illustrate the surroundings in which he worked. Although Mrs Blyth's albums would certainly have been of interest to members of their family back in England, relatives were not her primary audience. These albums were more likely intended to be shown to members of the mission community in England when the Blyths visited there, and to their visitors from home in Jerusalem. Their purpose would have been didactic and at least to some extent, promotional.[30]

The compilation of family albums and thus the ordering of family history was generally the responsibility of women.[31] While it is less common to encounter an album which documents one person's career assembled on behalf of that person by another, in this case I believe that it indicates the extent to which missionary work was a shared enterprise. Married women who accompanied their missionary husbands were assumed to be part of the mission, although they were unsalaried and did not usually have a specific title.[32] Their varied duties included teaching, nursing, visiting families, preaching and praying with women, perhaps photography, and apparently the production of photograph albums to be used in raising funds for the mission.

Compiled within the first four years of the Bishop's twenty-seven-year tenure, the albums illustrate, through their selection of religious monuments, views of the countryside, and people, the context in which the Bishop and the mission he was establishing were functioning. Given that the Blyths would have been acquainted, through their work, with a great many people in Jerusalem and the surrounding area, it is puzzling that images of people have a relatively small place in their albums, and that there are very few photographs of people as individuals rather than types. The answer to this puzzle lies in the function and intended audience for the albums. The photographs of buildings, religious practices, and religious leaders from other communities informed the album audience of the spiritual as well as the physical setting of the Bishop's work. However, while photographs of types of local residents were useful in conveying additional information about the setting, images of poorly dressed families or individuals, the hard-won converts of the mission, would have perhaps been less compelling evidence of success, a sobering close-up view of the reality of the mission as opposed to its hallowed setting in the Holy Land. Thus, the selection of photographs was not intended to be encyclopedic, but instead presented a very particular view of the city, or the region as a whole. Since the images in the albums would nearly always have been accompanied by an explanatory narrative provided by Mrs Blyth or another member of the mission, little information is provided by the written captions added to the pages. It was apparently only when Mrs Blyth's daughters decided to give her albums to the mission in 1926 that additional information, identifying certain people and places, was added.[33] Even then, certain photographs in the albums whose subjects would have been well known to the mission audience were left without written labels.

Albums compiled by members of the British military

Britain's increasing political and economic entanglement in Egypt in the last decades of the nineteenth century was accompanied by a growing British military presence there. Besides the British soldiers actually stationed in Egypt, following the opening of the Suez Canal, large numbers of soldiers passed through Egypt on their way to India. Many of these soldiers assembled photograph albums documenting their stay in Egypt, or their military careers which often included time in Egypt and India, and a large number of their photograph albums have ended up in the collection of the National Army Museum in London.[34]

All of these albums are well worn – obviously objects which were often looked at and which had significance for those who assembled them and those who paged through them. Silent now, they were no doubt originally accompanied by a narrative which would have augmented the scanty information contained in the album labels and linked the images together as the illustrations of a story of a life or an adventure or a journey. Although they vary in their size and in the numbers and sizes of the images they contain, none of them seems at all haphazardly assembled. The selection and ordering processes which resulted in a particular arrangement of text and image may not be immediately and completely apparent in all cases, but it is clear that attention was paid to how the albums were put together.

The albums vary in the kinds of images they include. Some are more personal, with photographs of school, family, and home while others contain only commercial photographs of the sites where the album owner was posted. Some document an entire career, while others picture only a single posting or military campaign. The emphasis given to the military, to the barracks, to everyday routine in peace or military activities during a battle, varies from album to album. In their privileging of the events of one person's life, as opposed to the holidays and group outings which generally comprise a family album, these should be considered as autobiographical in their intent. Their compilers were creating a record of a period of one person's life, and of specific experiences to be shared with an audience which was absent from most or all of those experiences.

The relationship between text, or labels, and image (and by extension the audience, since it was they who would have read the labels and looked at the photographs) is not straightforward and not consistent. What does it mean, for instance, when the neatly written labels stop halfway through an album? Loss of interest in the project? Forgetfulness? A move to a new posting? In some cases it is impossible to know if the albums were assembled on the spot, or later, at home. Albums which include ephemera such as Christmas cards, school memorabilia, and watercolors were probably put together at home, later, but those which contain only photographs from a particular posting could well have been assembled during off-duty times. Many of the labels in these military albums display a precise and stylized penmanship which seems to be a result of a military education, particularly for engineers and others concerned with communicating information about topography.

sufficiently distant to appear picturesque rather than poor, and ancient or religious monuments are carefully sited in the landscape. Even his double negative printing, considered by some critics to be illegitimate manipulation,[76] was done in the service of greater realism.

In creating a photographic record of the Prince of Wales's tour, Bedford as the photographer, Stanley as the spiritual authority, and the Prince of Wales as the representative of the British crown together chose sites which they considered to be important to record, choices shaped by their religious and political beliefs. Thompson's descriptions of the landscape of the Holy Land, quoted above, echo the sentiments expressed over and over again by numerous authors. Bedford's photographs work to reinforce this view of the region and set out a claim for the spiritual ownership of the landscape, in the specifically political context of the tour. The images from the tour, produced for the British public, thus served to construct a certain view of the region and of the Prince of Wales's interaction with it which best served British interests.

The album of a round the world traveler

The albums considered thus far have been assembled by people whose primary destination was the Middle East, or who spent some time there, whether as tourists, residents, or as members of the British military. Photographs of the Middle East also appear in the albums of travelers whose voyages were more far ranging. Traveling around the world, either by private yacht, as the Brasseys did, or via commercial steamer became more common in the second half of the nineteenth century with the rise of tourism and business travel.[77] The albums of these travelers, assembled under different circumstances from others we have already examined, give us yet a different range of photographs from the Middle East than any we have seen so far.

The Smith albums in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum contain a collection of photographs purchased by Mr A. J. Bucknall Smith on his voyages around the world.[78] Mr Smith, an engineer and author who published various works on wire, aspects of mining, and the diamond industry of South Africa, traveled for both business and pleasure. He sold the four volumes of photographs he assembled, estimating the cost of acquiring the 629 photographs in his collection at £50, to the Victoria and Albert in 1912 for £7.70.[79] Unlike the Brassey collection, with their matching bindings and neatly labeled volumes, the four albums of the Smith collection are different sizes and colours, apparently purchased at different times as Smith's collection grew. The albums vary too in the amount of information and detail accompanying the photographs. In some places, the images are neatly arranged in the album, four pictures (or two, if they are large) on each page, with written labels. Additional notes on some pages give information about

the itinerary, as on page 1 of album four, where it says "Views of the World, rounding easterly, via India, Burmah (sic), China, Japan and the United States, including a detour from Ceylon, southerly via Australia and New Zealand, – rejoining the main route at Hong Kong." A picture of a large ship, the *Arcadia*, is placed on the same page, under which is written: "London to India via the Mediterranean, Suez Canal, and Arabian Sea."[80] In other places, labels serve merely to identify the location of the photograph, in some cases repeating the information from the label on the photograph itself. The albums vary also in the extent to which there is a clear narrative presented in the arrangement of the photographs. While some sequences of photographs appear to reconstruct a voyage, in other places the arrangement of the photographs seems to be haphazard.

Photographs from the Middle East are included in two of the four volumes. Volume four (x92), the largest of the Smith albums, contains 247 photographs, apparently collected during a voyage by commercial steamer from England, through the Suez Canal, to India, Burma, China, Japan, and the United States. Smith departed from the main route of the tour to see Sri Lanka, Australia, and New Zealand, and also traveled overland across the US and took a different ship home to Liverpool. He spent very little time in Egypt, for there is only one page labeled "Egypt." That page shows three views, two of Port Said and one of the town of Suez, all by H. Arnoux.[81] Two additional views of Port Said appear on an earlier page, together with two photographs of Brindisi. The five images from Egypt give a good idea of the strong, almost proprietary interest most British travelers took in the Suez Canal. As the illustration shows (Fig. 4.11), additional comments were added to the "Egypt" page:

> Suez Canal, cut between Egypt and Arabia joining the Mediterranean and Red Seas; opened 1869; capital at present involved 20 millions of £. Distance thereby saved e.g. London to Bombay. 4,450 n.miles.

Similar images appear in nearly every British album from this period, regardless of the total number of views of Egypt or the Holy Land which are included.[82]

The third volume in Smith's collection (x91), a green cloth album, is completely filled with photographs from the Middle East. Following, apparently, the route of a steamship tour of the region, the 102 photographs begin with views of Istanbul, moving from there to Izmir, Beirut, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Cairo. The photographs are generally arranged one to a page, although there are a few pages which contain three or four related images, almost always "types" of local people. All of the photographs in this album are the commercial images which Smith could have purchased in the photographers' shops, as well as in the hotels where he stayed.[83] The photographs on each page are labeled.

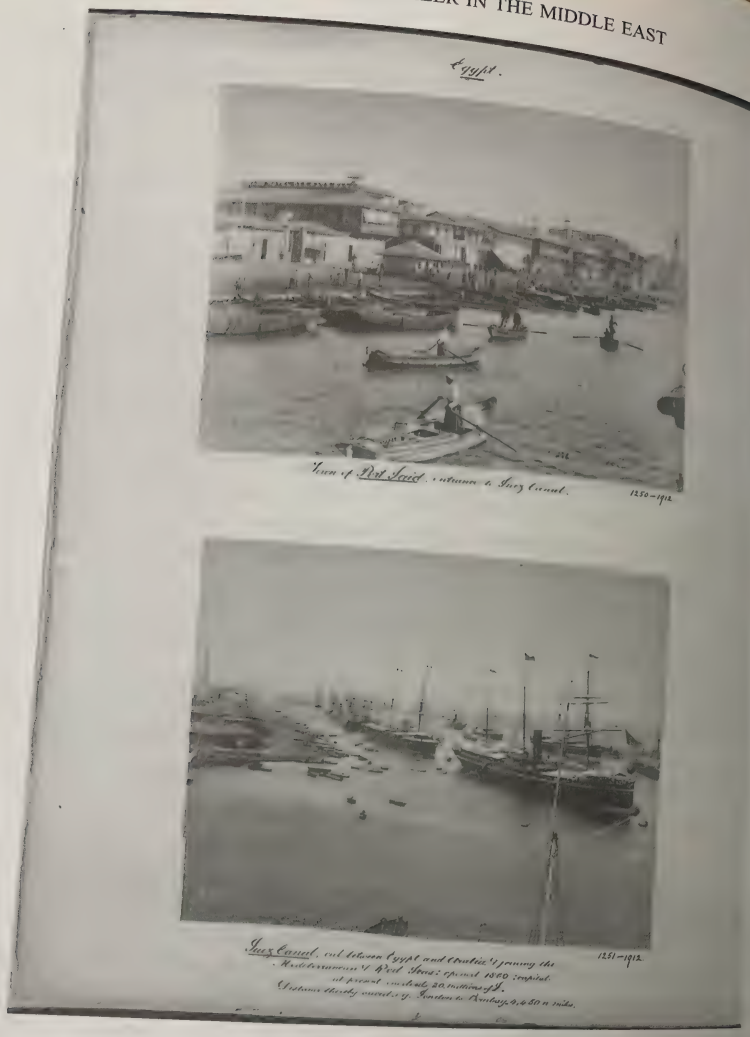

Egypt.
Town of Port Said, entrance to Suez Canal. 1250-1912
Suez Canal, with Ottoman Egypt and Arabia, & joining the Mediterranean & Red Seas; opened 1869; enlarged at present; contains 30 miles of it.
1251-1912

Fig. 4.11 Smith Album, x92, 1250-1912, 1251-1912 (V & A Picture Library).

Smith's selection of photographs and their subsequent arrangement in his album demonstrate his attempt at an orderly presentation of the main tourist sites along his route. For Istanbul, for example, Smith begins with a view across the Bosporus, and on the second page, the cemetery at Üsküdar where the British who died in the Crimean War are buried. The subsequent thirteen pages are filled with photographs of mosques and palaces from different periods, fountains, a view of the bazaar, and then three pages of people. Smith's choice of photographs of Beirut is similarly general: a view of the

city from the sea, a second view of the town, the cedars of Lebanon, the Temple of Jupiter from Baalbek, and two views of women. The Holy Land is illustrated by a general view of Jerusalem, the convent of Mar Saba, an interior view of the Mosque of al-Aqsa, two photographs of the Mount of Olives, one of the Garden of Gethsemane, and one of Jericho. Alexandria and Cairo are similarly presented, in each case beginning with general views of the city, then moving to a selection of views of architecture, a few street scenes and a few photographs of the local people. The ancient monuments of Egypt are illustrated with four photographs from Giza, one of the Bulak Museum, where antiquities were housed, and a view of the temple at Philae.

Smith's presentation of the Middle East displays none of the interest and attention to detail which characterizes other parts of his albums, particularly those where his professional attention was engaged as in the photographs of the diamond mines of South Africa. These sequences of photographs document the subject thoroughly and the comments added to the photographs by Smith indicate his familiarity with the material. Smith's Middle East is a collection of land- and seascapes, buildings, shops, fountains, and people, so familiar to his audience from travel literature, newspapers, and other people's photographs that the images needed virtually no annotation. The only departures from his otherwise routine presentation concern topics of particular interest to Smith as an engineer, or Smith as a British citizen concerned about British interests in the region. Thus in volume four, Smith focuses on the Suez Canal as he passes through Egypt. In volume three, he includes a few photographs of the palaces of the contemporary rulers of the Ottoman empire and Egypt, as well as a portrait of Tewfik Pasha, Khedive of Egypt from 1879 to 1892. He also presents a photograph which he identifies as "Execution of Suliman Pasha for complicity in the Alexandria riots (1882)," as well as a page with two images reporting on a breach of local security in which a party of travelers were abducted and held for ransom, with the eventual execution of the guilty parties also illustrated (Fig. 4.12). A group portrait of the abducted travelers is labeled on the page below, "F. Charmand and party, captured by Brigands and held for £1500 ransom." The adjacent photograph, showing heads impaled on a fence, is labeled, "Ultimate termination of the business." To his British audience, the manner in which the severed heads of the executed men were displayed would have been as horrific as the initial crime, reinforcing an impression already well established of the Middle East as a potentially lawless society with justice crudely meted out. Such an assessment served to justify the British military intervention in Egypt, since, according to this view, the local authorities were both unable to guarantee the security of their own populations as well as that of British subjects residing in the region and unable to establish acceptable methods of dealing with the brigands.[84] These pages in the album stand out from an otherwise unremarkable assortment of photographs, a disruptive

Fig. 4.12 Smith Album, x91, 1171, 1172, 1173, 1174–1912 (V & A Picture Library).

reminder of the dangers still present for Europeans in a region whose scenery and people have become so well known through their endless repetition in the dominant visual imagery of Orientalism as to be almost taken for granted by the late nineteenth century. In Smith's apparently uncritical assemblage of stereotypical images, we see neither the didactic attempt at encyclopedic coverage of the Brassey albums nor the autobiographical efforts of the military albums.

Conclusion

Photograph albums are personal and private, despite their role as visible witness to the past. While some of the albums in this study, particularly the Brassey and Blyth volumes, were specifically intended for public display, all of the albums functioned in some way as public documents. Yet they are still revealing of the personal experiences and narratives of their compilers. Thus this collection presents a range of views of the Middle East, related but not the same. It is my contention, to be explored more fully in the next chapter, that these albums are tangible evidence of the manner in which some subjects of the British empire perceived and constructed the discursive categories of imperialism and Orientalism as shifting and unstable. The albums, used to communicate personal, constructed visions of the Middle East, gave their viewers different impressions of the region from the ones we mostly see today. Orientalist and imperialist discourses in late nineteenth-century Britain were varied and competing. Photographic practice is one index of that discursive complexity.

Notes

1. The catalogues from various shops which have survived in archives and in private collections are important in reconstructing the business practices as well as the oeuvres of nineteenth-century photographers.
2. This phenomenon was not confined to the Middle East. Indeed the Brassey albums, and other albums, are filled with commercial photographs of the great cathedrals of Europe, the architecture and people of Japan, Alaska, Italy, and South America. Commercial photography directed at a tourist market seems to have existed wherever there was sufficient tourism to support it.
3. This discussion is assuming the album to be an album of photographs, but of course other sorts exist. Scholarship focusing on various kinds of albums has informed my thinking about those that I am considering here. See in particular Roxburgh, 1996, 2001; and Higonnet, 1987.
4. The photograph album as an object of study has been largely overlooked in the history of photography, although photograph albums are mentioned in passing by some authors. Most of the available literature focuses on the family photograph album. Notable exceptions include Darrah, 1981; Motz, 1989; Nordstrom, 2001; Smith, 1993; and Wilson, 1998.
5. For example one North American manufacturer of photograph albums marketed a type with removable pages, attached to the binding by means of thin metal rods. This would have allowed much more flexibility in the arrangement of subjects within the album.
6. *The Last Voyage*: xvi.
7. As much as possible, I have also tried to indicate when labels or other material have been added after the original period of compilation.
8. Motz, 1989: 65–6.
9. Biographical information about Blyth or his family is very difficult to find. He

does not appear in the *Dictionary of National Biography* or in any other published biographical dictionaries, as far as I am aware. My information on Blyth comes primarily from Tibawi's very detailed 1961 study, *British Interests in Palestine 1800–1901*. I am grateful to Dr Kathleen Lane, a former graduate student at the University of Victoria, for sharing her bibliographic research with me.

10. These are the dates during which there was actually a bishop in Jerusalem. The joint bishopric as an institution was established in 1841 and did not officially lapse until 1886. British missionary activity in Palestine in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is the subject of numerous works. Particularly useful are Tibawi, op. cit.; Gordon Hewitt, *The Problems of Success: A History of the Church Missionary Society 1910–1942* (1970); and Naomi Shepherd, *The Zealous Intruders: The Western Discovery of Palestine* (1987).
11. The complicated and confusing history of British missionary activity in Palestine is not particularly relevant here. For numerous reasons, Blyth was not welcomed by the two Anglican missionary groups already established in Palestine when he arrived, the Church Missionary Society and the London Jews Society (the complete name of which was the Society for Promoting Christianity Among the Jews). He eventually founded a new mission, the Jerusalem and East Mission, raising money to build a collegiate church, bishop's residence and library, clergy training school, and two other schools in Jerusalem, and a church, medical dispensary, and school in Haifa.
12. According to information on the inside cover of each of the albums, they were given by Blyth's daughters to the "Mission" (presumably the Jerusalem and East Mission founded by Blyth) in 1926. They were apparently subsequently given to the museum by the mission, and are now part of the Pictorial Archives of the British Museum.
13. In the first volume there are fourteen pages with two photographs on each, and in volume three there are two pages with two photographs each, and two pages with three images on each one.
14. The people included in the photograph are, according to the caption, "Standing (left to right): Rev. Joseph Jamal, Ali (Canon Kelk's man), Canon A.H. Kelk, Daoud Kamal (the Bishop's kawass), Bishop Blyth, Hadj Ibrahim (Dr. Wheeler's man), Dr. P. d'E. Wheeler." The three women are identified below the photograph as "Miss Alice Kelk, dau. of Canon Kelk and now Mrs. Robinson Lees. Lady Grace Murray. Miss Katie Kelk, niece of Canon Kelk." Robinson Lees was an active member of the Jerusalem missionary community, serving as the headmaster of the London Jews Society Boys' School in Jerusalem from 1888 to 1894. He also wrote and lectured on Palestine, illustrating both his writing and lectures with his own photographs.
15. Tibawi, op. cit.: 237.
16. According to Perez, F. Quarelli, perhaps Italian, was active from the late 1870s on. He lived in Beirut, and was listed in the *Guide Joanne: Itineraire Descriptif, Historique, et Archaeologique de l'Orient* (published in Paris by Hachette) for the first time in 1882, and not again until 1906. Perez attributes Quarelli's obscure status in contemporary scholarship to the fact that few of his photographs seem to have survived (Perez, 1988: 206).
17. The prolific and successful firm of Bonfils was founded in Beirut in 1867 by Felix and Lydie Bonfils, French immigrants to Beirut. Their son, Adrian, joined the family firm officially in 1877 or 1878. The thousands of images produced by the firm of Bonfils were apparently sold all over the region and appeared in many published works. More information about the Bonfils firm is available in

numerous publications, the most useful of which is *The Image of the East* (1982) by Carney E.S. Gavin, which includes microfiche copies of the extensive Bonfils collection formerly in the Harvard Semitic Museum, now in the Fine Arts Library at Harvard University.

18. Tibawi, op. cit.: 224.
19. Of the twenty-four photographs of Jerusalem in volume one, six can be identified as the work of Bonfils and three are by Fiorillo. In volume two there are eight Bonfils images of Jerusalem, two by Fiorillo, one by Krikorian, and one on which only the number in the label is legible. The work of Fiorillo, an Italian photographer based in Alexandria, is discussed in the previous chapter. Garabed Krikorian was born in Constantinople and sent to the Armenian monastery of St James in Jerusalem in the 1860s. He studied photography there with Yessayi Garabedian (later patriarch of Jerusalem). Krikorian left the priesthood and opened a studio in the city in 1885, establishing a successful business. He died in 1920.
20. The Bonfils photograph also appears in an album in the National Army Museum, 7511 27, p.49, and is published in Onne, 1980: 74.
21. The Muslim cemetery is not necessarily in Egypt. I have grouped it with the Egyptian photographs because of its placement in the album, on the last page, following the rest of the views of Egypt. Lake Timsah is located on the Suez Canal, near the town of Ismailia, which as the southern terminus of the Canal founded by Ismail Paşa received a great deal of press attention upon the opening of the Canal in 1869.
22. The images are arranged in two rows of five, and are all the same size. From the upper left, the labels on the photograph read: Aiguille de Cleopatre à Alexandrie; Karnak. Les Obelisques; Minaret de la Mosquée du Sultan Barkouk; Porte d'entrée du temple de Louqsor H. Egypte; Coupole de la Mosquée du Sultan Barkouk du Caire. From the lower left: Colonnade de Karnak; Une rue du Caire; Grand Pylonne de Philoe; Colonne de Pompee. Alexandrie; Obelisque d'Heliopolis. Caire.
23. Of the photographs on which the photographer's name is legible, one is by Zangaki, two by Sebah, and one by Arnoux. According to Perez, there were two Zangaki brothers, Greeks whose work was apparently widely available, who were active beginning in the 1870s and thought to have had their studio in Port Said. Apart from their Greek nationality, and the fact that they were very prolific photographers, little is known of them. The work of Pascal Sebah has been discussed extensively in the previous chapter. Hippolyte Arnoux was a French photographer whose studio was in Port Said, active, apparently, beginning in the mid-1860s. He seems to have specialized in documenting the construction of the Suez Canal and published his photographs in an album entitled *Album du Canal du Suez* (Perez, 1988: 127).
24. Five are signed by Arnoux, four by Zangaki, and three by Lekegian. Little is known of the Armenian, Lekegian, apart from his images, of which many survive. Active in Egypt between the 1860s and 1890s, his images are usually signed "Photographie Artistique G. Lekegian & Co."
25. Labeled "Cour de la Mosquée Ibrahim Aga" by the photographer Lekegian, this building is actually the Mamluk Mosque of Aqsunqur, built in 1347 and extensively remodeled in 1652 by Ibrahim Aga, who also added his own mausoleum to the site. Popular with nineteenth-century tourists because of the tiles added in Ibrahim Aga's renovation, the building is sometimes also known as the Blue Mosque.

26. It is impossible to know exactly which festival Lekegian photographed, but most likely it was a *mawlid*, a celebration in honor of the birth of the Prophet Mohammad (Mawlid al-Nabi), or to honor the birth of a descendant of the Prophet, for example the Mawlid al-Husayn, or a local imam, such as the Mawlid of Imam Shafi-i. These events, which took place at various times over the course of the year, generally involved both street processions and a *dhikr* ("Ziker" on the photograph), a religious service centered on the recitation of poetry and prayer in praise of God.
27. There are nine photographs of Constantinople in album two, eight of which are signed by G. Berggren. Included among the Constantinople photographs are two of Hagia Sophia, one of the Mosque at Ortaköy, one of the English cemetery at Üsküdar, and one of the tomb of Sultan Mehmed II. The more popular and picturesque views of the Sweet Waters of Asia, the Grand Bazaar, Pera, and the summer houses along the Bosporus do not appear in the Blyths' collection.
    The Swedish photographer Guillaume Berggren settled in Constantinople in the 1870s and opened a studio on the Grande rue de Pera. He mostly photographed Constantinople and other cities in Turkey, although he also took some images in Egypt. For more information on Berggren see Leif Wigh, *Photographic Views of the Bosphorus and Constantinople*, Stockholm, 1984.
28. One of the three, on the bottom left of the page, is numbered 28 and signed G. Berggren. The number on the bottom right image is in exactly the same kind of type, and so is also perhaps the work of Berggren. The third image on the page is the same size as the other two; all three may have been part of a larger series of images sold by Berggren in his shop.
29. As Nir and others have pointed out, missionaries were quick to see the value of photographs for communicating with their supporters at home. Moreover, they were often very familiar with their subjects and had ample opportunities for photography. During the time that the Blyths were apparently collecting their photographs (1888–92, or perhaps later), there were at least two accomplished photographers associated with the London Jews Society, G. Robinson Lees and Charles Alexander Hornstein. The London Jews Society published books and pamphlets from their premises in Jerusalem, so there would certainly have been a photographic studio there, and probably several active photographers. For more information about Robinson Lees, Charles Hornstein, and missionary photography in Jerusalem, see Nir, 1985: 213–34.
30. Since the missions were entirely supported by donations from individuals and church congregations, fundraising for the missions was an ongoing concern. Letters from the missionaries and photographs of the mission communities were important tools in this process.
31. For a discussion of women's roles in album making see Motz, 1989 and Higonnet, 1987, among others.
32. There is an extensive literature on the role of women, unmarried and married, in British missionary activity. Melman, 1992 and Shepheard, 1987 both touch on this subject, and provide references for additional reading.
33. I make this assumption because the handwriting of the note at the front of each of the albums stating that the album was formerly the property of Mrs Blyth and was presented to the mission by her daughters in 1926 matches the handwriting of some of the notes which appear on various pages throughout the three albums. Mrs Blyth's labels were written in pencil, in a different hand.
34. The National Army Museum has an enormous collection of albums and other personal memorabilia, material that has been purchased from or donated by

members of the English military and their descendants. This vast collection has been catalogued in a rudimentary fashion, and albums containing photographs may be grouped in a number of different categories. A search for photograph albums containing images from a particular region thus becomes something of a treasure hunt through the card catalogue. The albums discussed here were chosen because they contained photographs from the Middle East, were in reasonably good condition, and because some (minimal) information was available about their original owners.
35. This album is number 7807-47 in the National Army Museum. Since the album is only on loan to the museum, no photographs may be taken from it, and thus none of its pages may be illustrated here.
36. The information in the album captions is corroborated by what is known of Mr Evelaugh's regiment. The 52nd Light Infantry, also known as the Second Battalion Oxfordshire Light Infantry, arrived in Gibraltar in 1884, after which it was posted to Egypt for one year, beginning in 1885, and then sent to India.
37. Of the nine photographs, one is labeled Arnoux No. 140; two have only partially legible labels, No. 608 (labeled "Hard-bake Shop" by the album owner) and No. 127 Rue du Caire quartier Touloun, and two are labeled Bonfils. On one of the Bonfils photographs, "G. Zangaki" is written in small neat letters halfway up the face of the pyramid, interesting evidence of the sale or exchange of negatives which is known to have taken place among commercial photographers in this period. A fifth photograph has a title "Allée des Pyramides, Cairo," in the same handwriting which often appears on Bonfils photographs, but there is no name. The remaining four photographs have no labels visible, but are clearly the work of professional photographers.
38. The first hand-held Kodak cameras were marketed in 1888, ushering in the smaller, more informal kind of photograph which came to be known as the snapshot.
39. Album number 7101-6.
40. The 105th Regiment became the 2nd Battalion King's Own (Yorkshire Light Infantry) in the Territorial Organization of 1881. In 1885 the regiment was sent to Malta, and to India a year later, no doubt passing through Egypt in the course of their travels.
41. Three views of the pyramids are the work of Bonfils, the photograph of the Mamluk tomb is signed by Zangaki, and no names are visible on the other two images.
42. Album number PA 7612-112.
43. The 1st Battalion (King's Shropshire Light Infantry) was present in Egypt for the battle at Alexandria in 1882, and remained in the general region – Egypt, Cyprus, and Malta – through the 1880s and early 1890s.
44. The British War Office was interested in encouraging military photography as early as the Crimean War, when two ensigns were given a crash course in photography and sent to the Crimea to document their war. Their efforts were unsuccessful, and the professional photographer Roger Fenton was then sent out. Meanwhile, the War Office continued its efforts by arranging to have four members of the Royal Engineers at Chatham trained in photography, in 1856. The first use of photographers who were also part of the military in a battle context took place during the war in Abyssinia (1867–68), when members of the No. 10 Company of Royal Engineers were sent to Africa to produce maps and plans, as well as to produce an official record of the conflict for the military. See Ryan, 1997: 73–98, for an excellent (and long overdue) analysis of the use of photography by the British military.

45. One of the panoramic views of Cairo is signed by Bonfils and the other by P. Sebah. No labels are legible on any of the others.
46. Apart, of course, from the contact implied by the presence of commercial photographs in the album, the purchase of which would have required the owner to visit the shops of commercial photographers in the city.
47. The scientific expertise of the Royal Engineers was especially critical to Britain's military involvement in Egypt between 1882 and 1897. Their efforts were primarily focused on railway systems. In 1882 they played an important role in Britain's seizure of the Suez Canal by mobilizing the necessary locomotives and rolling stock.
48. Although I have never come across this photograph in a published context, a copy of the same image is included in an album in the collection of the British Columbia Provincial Archives and Record Services. Assembled to commemorate the 1869 voyage around the world by the British Flying Squadron, the album also contains a series of later photographs from Egypt. It seems likely that the album project was undertaken at the behest of Admiral W. Hornby, commander of the Flying Squadron, who was later involved in the British military action in Alexandria.
49. One image, labeled by Cleeve "Iron Clad Train Royal Navy," is signed P. Sebah, and another, "Pompey's Pillar," is labeled Bonfils. The Sebah image is the same photograph that is included in album 7612-112, number 22.
50. Of these ten photographs, four have legible signatures. Two are the work of Henri Béchard and two are signed by P. Sebah. A third should also probably be attributed to Sebah because of the labeling style, and there is one which was probably taken by the Bonfils.
51. The album, 8404-98, measures 37.5 × 55 cm, with a dark green cloth and leather binding.
52. The Dorset Regiment to which the owner of this album belonged is probably the 1st Battalion (Dorsetshire) Regiment of Foot (until 1881 the 39th (East Middlesex) Regiment of Foot), which was sent to Egypt in 1885 and traveled up the Nile, returning to England eight months later.
53. Among the sites which are included are Giza, Karnak, Thebes, Edfu, the Cataract at Aswan, Philae, and Dendur. Only thirteen of these forty photographs have legible signatures; the signed pictures are the work of a number of the successful commercial photographers of this period: Lekegian, Zangaki, Bonfils, and A. Beato. Antonio Beato was a prolific photographer in Egypt, active from about 1862 until his death in 1904. He had studios in Cairo and Luxor. His career is often confused with that of his brother, Felice, who worked with James Robertson in the Middle East, and subsequently spent most of his life in China and Japan (Nir, 1986: 130).
54. For example, in album PA 7612-112, discussed above, where a similar view appears on the first page, in this case by Bonfils.
55. The Prince was accompanied by Arthur Stanley, a clergyman who later became Dean of Westminster, who was his guide in identifying and interpreting sites associated with biblical events. He later published a book of sermons from the trip, *Sermons Preached before HRH the Prince of Wales during His Tour in the East in the Spring of 1862* (London, 1862). His letters, in the collection of his family and quoted in Hector Bolitho's 1934 work, *Victoria, the Widow and Her Son*, provide additional information about the journey.
56. Other men accompanying the Prince of Wales included Captain Bower, Major-General Bruce, Mr Kanne, Lieutenant-Colonel Keppel, the Hon. R.H. Meade, Dr Minter, Dr Arthur Stanley, and Major Teesdale.

57. Of course the future King of England and his suite were not exactly a typical group of tourists. It is impossible to separate a discussion of the photographs which were made to document this particular tour from their political context, both in terms of the tour itself, and the subsequent exhibition and publication of the images for sale to the British public.
58. According to Onne, the royal family decided "to raise money from the selling of Bedford's photographs" (1980: 17). He does not tell us what the money was to be used for, or when the decision to sell Bedford's photographs was made, but it seems likely that the commercial value of his work was realized early on, perhaps even before the tour began.
59. There is a fair amount of confusion in the literature concerning the publication date and format of this first publication of Bedford's photographs. Bull and Lorimer (1979) give 1862 as the publication date, while Chevedden (1981), Haworth-Booth (1984), Nir (1985), Onne (1980), and Vaczek and Buckland (1981) list the date as 1863. Furthermore, while all sources seem to agree that the number of photographs reproduced in the publication was 172, and that they were arranged in three sections, Bull and Lorimer, Chevedden, and Nir describe the publication as having appeared in four volumes, not three. Onne does not mention a volume number, saying only that the work was in three sections. The title given for this work also varies from one source to another. The title page to each of the three sections says, "Photographic Pictures Made by Mr. Francis Bedford during the Tour in the East in which by Command He Accompanied His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales." Directly above, in a separate panel, each title page is labeled with further information, for example: "Section 2, Holy Land and Syria."
60. Jay, 1973: 20; Nir, 1985: 77.
61. Nir, ibid., and Onne, 1980: 17.
62. Onne, ibid. Further, Jay states that the price for the entire set of photographs, 43 guineas, was equivalent at that time to a year's salary for a university professor (Jay, 1973: 20).
63. Again, there is some confusion about the publication date of this second set of Bedford's photographs. Chevedden gives 1864 as the date, Nir lists the first publication date as 1866 with a second edition in 1867, and Onne gives the date as 1867 in his text, and 1868 in his bibliography. Vaczek and Buckland give the date as 1867.
64. Haworth-Booth, 1984: 83.
65. The most complete biographical information on Bedford may be found in Haworth-Booth, 1984: 83, and Jay, 1973.
66. Jay, 1973: 20.
67. Bedford's photograph of a local notable, taken in Damascus, is published in Vaczek and Buckland, 1981: 159.
68. Kathleen Stewart Howe's 1997 book, *Revealing the Holy Land*, contains an excellent essay analyzing the impact of the place on the images produced by photographers of the Holy Land. Nir's *The Bible and the Image* (1986) is also essential reading on this topic.
69. Bedford, 1864: 2–3.
70. Stanley's letters are quoted in Bolitho, 1934: 13.
71. According to both Nir, 1985: 77, and Haworth-Booth, 1984: 83.
72. Bedford, 1864: 2.
73. ibid.: 5.
74. ibid.: 4.

75. ibid.: 2.
76. Jay, 1973: 20.
77. For discussions of the increasing popularity of tourism as a leisure activity see Black, 1965; Brendon, 1991; and Withey, 1997.
78. The Smith albums are now in the collection of the Department of Drawings, Prints and Photographs, numbers x89, x90, x91, and x92.
79. This information comes from the original museum records and Smith's letters, for which I am indebted to Mark Haworth-Booth, Curator of Photographs.
80. Exploiting the desire of some travelers to document every aspect of their trip, commercial photographers provided them with views of their steamships entering harbor, or passing through the Suez Canal, for example. In an album of photographs in the collection of the Hastings Museum, in Hastings, England, there is a mounted photograph, signed and labeled by Zangaki. The label written on the negative reads "No. 459 Orizaba entre au Port Said." A handwritten note, on the page on which this photograph has been mounted says, "Our vessel – RMS 'Orizaba' entering Suez Canal at Port Said." This photograph and its accompanying note would seem to indicate that local photographers took pictures of the commercial vessels as they passed by, in order to sell them to the tourists who would disembark, however briefly, in Port Said or Suez.
81. The labels on the three Arnoux photographs which are included in the Smith album are difficult to read. The most legible of them says, "No. 114 Vue du Port de Port Said"; for the others, which are much harder to make out, only their numbers can be tentatively read, as No. 151 and No. 126.
82. As discussed previously, Egypt became increasingly important to Britain as the nineteenth century progressed. The Suez Canal was a particular focus of British concern, as well as an object of interest as a modern technological achievement. Despite their popularity among British travelers of the late nineteenth century, images of Port Said and the construction or operation of the Suez Canal appear infrequently in contemporary publications concerning nineteenth-century photography in the Middle East. An exception to this general tendency is Nissan Perez's 1988 work, *Focus East: Early Photography in the Near East 1839–1885*, which includes five different views of Port Said and the Suez Canal by four photographers. Perez also includes three images which document the British bombardment of Alexandria and invasion of Egypt, subjects of great interest to nineteenth-century British tourists, but again, rarely reproduced today.
83. Guidebooks from this period, such as Wilkinson's 1867 or 1873 *A Handbook for Travellers in Egypt*, or Baedeker's 1902 *Egypt: Handbook for Travellers*, include information about whose photographs are considered to be the best, and list the places where photographs may be purchased.
84. For an excellent discussion of the role of banditry in the struggle for control of the Egyptian state which went on between British and Egyptian authorities, see Nathan Brown's 1990 article, "Brigands and State Building: The Invention of Banditry in Modern Egypt."

CHAPTER FIVE

The Middle East and the Photographic Record

The Brassey albums, with their thousands of photographs, could be the basis for many different books: a study of nineteenth-century photography in Australia, a history of botanical gardens in the British empire, tourist photography in Europe, or others I have yet to imagine. The photographs are complex, intriguing, and often difficult to decipher; combined into albums they become even more of a puzzle, raising new sets of questions about their meanings and relationships to each other, and to their viewers.

This book, the first study of the albums, has examined the Middle Eastern photographs in the Brassey collection and their placement in the albums in order to understand how the region was constructed and displayed through the selection of the photographs and their arrangement in relationship to one another. The creation of a photograph, the purchase of that photograph by a consumer, and the inclusion of the image in a larger collection within an album involves a myriad of individual choices by numerous people, resulting in a very particular view of the subject under consideration. I argue here that this process is far too complex, too variable to result in a straightforward body of images falling neatly under the title "Orientalist."

Instead, the photographic record is a disorganized, chaotic pile of pictures, stored all over the world in boxes, albums, private collections, archives, museums, and even the internet, sometimes catalogued, sometimes not. As various people, scholars, collectors, editors, photographers, have struggled in the past few decades to make sense out of this rich collection of images, they have reached some preliminary conclusions. Basic facts have been established about the chronologies for the arrival of photographic technology in the Middle East, the adoption of new photographic methods, and the careers of some of the photographers active in the region. Through numerous publications, a reasonably coherent body of images has come to be identified with the photography of the Middle East, consisting of views of antiquities, important religious sites, some medieval Islamic monuments, the landscape of the Holy Land, a few images of tourist experiences, and images of native types, with exotic, eroticized women an important subcategory of native types. This body of images, familiar through its frequent reiteration, has in turn been used in assessing the role of photography in Orientalist discourse of the late nineteenth century, as in James Ryan's work, *Picturing Empire:*

Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire, when he writes, "Indeed, commercial photography – particularly of the Near East – played a significant role in the naturalization of European ideas of the Orient in the second half of the nineteenth century."[1]

I certainly agree that "commercial photography . . . played a significant role in the naturalization of European ideas of the Orient," and for that matter, many other parts of the world in this period. However, I see a need for a more careful examination than has so far taken place of exactly what was included in the oeuvres of the commercial photographers active in the Middle East in their heyday, from about 1860 until the widespread availability of the Kodak box cameras in the late 1880s, as well as an investigation of how commercial photography was consumed by one of its target audiences, the foreigner (tourist, soldier, missionary or whoever) who visited the region in this period.[2] Basing a discussion of the importance of nineteenth-century photography in constructing knowledge about the Middle East in that period on an inaccurate or even misleading collection of images is not a satisfactory exercise.

In this book, I have tried to take a different approach to looking at nineteenth-century photographs of the Middle East. Photograph albums (as opposed to the individual photographs) show us a collection of images, assembled by one or more people, allowing us to see at the same time a range of commercially produced photographs and the arrangement of these images for presentation to an audience. In the albums, the photographs have been selected by the nineteenth-century consumer/traveler, rather than the twentieth-century editor or collector.

Upon careful examination of the albums considered in this study, two particularly striking conclusions have emerged, which in turn may lead to further discussion. First of all, the number and variety of photographs of the Middle East from which the nineteenth-century consumer could choose was much more extensive, especially in terms of subject matter, than we might otherwise have known. Secondly, the choices made from among the available images by the nineteenth-century consumer and the twentieth-century editor are not the same. In retrospect, such a fact is hardly surprising, but this seemingly obvious observation has important implications, worth considering more fully.

In all of the photograph albums we examined, from the very extensive collections in the Brassey albums to the much more modest numbers of photographs in some of the albums from the National Army Museum, the hand of the compiler is evident in the selection and arrangement of the images. There is enough diversity in the subject matter of the photographs and in album structure to make it clear that each album is closely tied to the experiences and interests of its compiler. In every case, the album contains some images which uphold stereotypes of the region and others which contest those stereotypical views – a clear indication of the extent to which the

experience of the Middle East was personal, fragmented, and distinctive, despite the overarching hegemonic structures of British imperialism. Thus each album contains a unique combination of some of the views which are familiar to us from their repeated publication, such as Egyptian antiquities, camel caravans in the desert, and street peddlers, as well as lesser known images, for example modern palaces and gardens or battle scenes.

The divergence from what we might expect, both in terms of the work of commercial photographers and in the construction of the photographic record by album compilers, is particularly apparent in two areas: views of modernity and the representation of women. With a few exceptions,[3] it is not common to find many images of the modern (in nineteenth-century terms) Middle East in contemporary publications of historic photographs. Yet nineteenth-century visitors to the region, confronting the challenges of modernity in their own society, were alert to evidence of change, of modernity, as they looked around them on their travels. Travel writers noted improvements in accommodation and in tourist services, as well as changes in the urban fabric of the cities they visited. In some cases, of course, they bemoaned the passing of the "authentic Orient," but whatever their attitude towards it, visitors were well aware of at least some of the changes taking place in the Middle East in this period. The photographs they purchased are evidence of this. In nearly every album examined the modern Middle East was well represented through the inclusion of views of nineteenth-century mosques, palaces, museums, gardens, fountains, and streetscapes, whether in Constantinople, Cairo, Alexandria, or even Port Said.

Images of modernity in human terms, that is photographs of women dressed in Parisian fashions or smartly attired bureaucrats, are less common. While commercial photographers would have produced such images, which fill the pages of the family albums of upper class Ottoman and Egyptian families from this period, and the albums of the Ottoman palace collections, they were not available for sale to tourists. Nor would visitors necessarily have encountered the "modern" inhabitants of the region, with the possible exception of those working in tourist-related venues, for example banks and the shops which filled the streets in the modern neighborhoods frequented by tourists. Another important point of contact between travelers and local residents was the harem visit which became an almost essential component of a stay in Cairo or Constantinople for British women, and during which British women would have an opportunity to observe upper class local women in their homes, among their friends and female relatives.

However, if the commercial photographs of local residents which are included in most albums are more or less restricted to types, there are still some surprising divergences from what we see in contemporary publications. In general, views of people have a much less prominent role in the albums of the nineteenth century than they do in the photo history books of the late

twentieth century. Further, the photographs which are included in some of the albums, for example Béchard's portraits in the Brassey albums, the religious figures in the Blyth albums, the local attendants of the Prince of Wales's party photographed by Bedford, or even the image included by Smith of the travelers abducted for ransom give a more particularized view of the local inhabitants of the Middle East than that often conveyed in modern publications of historical photographs.

The most important difference between what we see in the albums and contemporary publications, in terms of images of people, concerns the representation of the women of the Middle East. The bare-breasted harem women, sensuous dancers, and languorous odalisques which are the mainstay of many publications of recent years are completely absent from these albums. In their place we see mothers with children, veiled women on the street, or working women acting out their lives in front of the camera. The few dancers whose images are included in the Brassey albums are modestly dressed and neatly posed. The photographs of women in these albums, relatively few in number compared to their abundance in modern publications, take their place alongside other images of local people working or interacting with each other.

What are the consequences of this divergence between the photographic record as it is constructed in nineteenth-century albums and that in twentieth-century publications, for our understanding of Orientalism? The figure of the Oriental harem woman, as the locus of European male fantasies of sexual penetration and political domination has been exhaustively explored in numerous works in the last two decades. While not disputing the existence of such a trope, the evidence in the albums suggests that this image of Middle Eastern women was not necessarily the dominant one at the time, and that it was clearly limited in both its appeal and its circulation, since none of the albums contained such views of women. We could further conclude, as others have done, that the Orientalist paradigm, particularly as it refers to women, was an unstable one, which shifted through time, place, and positionality.

"The timeless Orient" is another important aspect of the Orientalist paradigm, noting the way in which many Europeans failed to see societies outside of their own as changing, instead perceiving them as static or stagnant. While many visitors to the Middle East may indeed have wished for the region to remain unchanged, so that they could continue to appreciate its exotic qualities,[4] both commercial photographers and the compilers of the albums examined here were well aware of the fast-paced changes taking place, particularly in the built environments of the major cities. These visitors to the Middle East were able to include photographs of camel caravans as well as images of new boulevards and modern neighborhoods in their albums with no apparent sense of discord, further evidence of the instability of the Orientalist paradigm.

Taken as a group, the albums with their photographs construct a much more fractured, diverse, and varied view of the Middle East than we are accustomed to seeing in modern publications. The albums challenge us to acknowledge the complexity and instability of social, political, and imperialist discourses in the nineteenth century, as well as the limitations of our late twentieth-century/twenty-first-century stereotypes of this region of the world. The struggle for the people of Europe (and by extension North America) and the Middle East to see each other clearly has been going on for centuries; perhaps we will finally be able to do so in the new millennium.

The albums which form the basis of analysis for Chapter 4 are a fascinating group of objects, but it is only in conjunction with the study of the Brassey albums which prompted the search for additional albums that this project is complete. The Brassey albums, nearly encyclopedic in their coverage, intact and well documented, are an invaluable resource for the history of photography in the Middle East, and elsewhere, at an important juncture in the history of photography, of tourism, and of imperialism. It is my hope that this initial publication of one aspect of the albums will encourage others to examine this gold mine of nineteenth-century photographs.

Finally, we return to the place where we began, to the person whose passion and energy for travel, for photography, and for collecting set this whole project in motion, more than a century ago. Lady Brassey's travel books, her photograph albums, and her museum are all aspects of a much larger project: to understand her world and formulate it for dissemination to others, both her own peers and those she considered it her duty to educate. Annie Lady Brassey remains in some ways an elusive personality, but this examination of her life and work has at least added her voice to the growing body of women's writing which has been brought to light in the last decades. As more diverse voices are incorporated into the historical record, they will enrich and complicate our understanding of a period whose legacies we continue to confront in our own political and intellectual endeavors.

Notes

1. Ryan, 1997: 67.
2. As I have noted elsewhere, it is essential to remember that local residents in the Middle East were developing their own relationship with photography and with commercial photographers in this period, which certainly would have had an impact on the work of commercial photographers in other contexts.
3. As discussed more fully in Chapter 1.
4. See Mitchell, 1988 and Çelik, 1992, for important discussions of the impact of world exhibitions on tourism and travel.

Afterword

When I first paged through the eight albums of photographs from the Middle East in the Brassey collection, I was struck by the range of photographic style and subject matter, in comparison to the images I had been used to seeing in published works on nineteenth-century photography in the Middle East. As I have worked with the collection over the past years, and looked at other collections, my initial impression about the diversity of the nineteenth-century material has been strengthened. But I have also wondered why most of the publications of this body of photographs do not seem to reflect the variety I find in the collections I have studied. Two interconnected reasons have suggested themselves.

First of all, unlike most of art history and much of history, the study of historical photography is not about finding the few surviving examples of something and using them as the basis for an investigation of a much larger body of material (or documents) which have since disappeared. To the contrary, with historical photographs, the challenge is to decide when a large enough sample of the many thousands of extant examples has been assembled to serve as the focus of a study. There are more photographs of the nineteenth-century Middle East, or even of a single city, Cairo, hidden away in various collections than one researcher could ever possibly hope to see. The problem is overabundance of research materials, not scarcity of them.

Related to this problem of overabundance is the fact that any author or editor, faced with the task of choosing illustrations for a book or article, is limited to a certain number, usually smaller than what he or she would consider ideal. This is of course the case in any illustrated publication, but it is particularly problematic in the history of photography, since a much smaller percentage of the total sample of images will ever appear in print. The person choosing which photographs to use in a book is making those decisions on behalf of all of the people who will see the book, and determining which of the many possible photographs will enter the world of the published, circulating image. Our view of any subject, in this case the nineteenth-century photography of the Middle East, is thus mediated by the editors and others who choose the illustrations for the works they publish. We see what they want us to, what they are interested in, what conforms to their ideas and expectations, implicit or explicit, of what these photographs should be.

It is my contention, discussed throughout this book, that many recent (and not so recent) publications concerned with the photography of the Middle

East illustrate a series of images which serve to perpetuate stereotypes about the region, some of which date from the nineteenth century but many which do not. Further, I believe that a close look at the photographs produced by commercial photographers and purchased by tourists reveals a much more extensive range of views of the Middle East than many recent publications would suggest. I am not claiming that this wider body of nineteenth-century images presents the "truth" about the region, just that it is important to know more accurately what exists.

The publishing constraints concerning numbers of illustrations in any one book remain formidable (I would have liked to have had at least twice as many illustrations in this book!). However, with the creation of increasing numbers of research-focused internet sites, researchers are no longer forced to rely to the same extent on the editorial choices of others for their understanding of the range of photographic images, or to limit themselves to the collections to which they have direct physical access. With each passing year, the number of important photographic archives which are available for on-line study increases. While on-line examination of images will never be a completely satisfactory substitute for direct contact with the originals, it does provide an important means of increasing the universe of images to which we all have access, if we take the time to look at them.

APPENDIX I

The Albums and the Travel Books

While the photograph albums, with their thousands of images, were assembled in order to be part of the museum Lady Brassey envisaged, and, to a lesser extent, to document her family's travels, the number of people who would be able to see the albums firsthand was relatively small, especially compared to the circulation enjoyed by the travel books which Lady Brassey wrote. Not surprisingly, the vast library of images which the photograph albums contained was also used to supply some of the illustrations to Lady Brassey's published works. Thus, an examination of Lady Brassey's travel books and the photograph albums provides an unusual opportunity to investigate the relationship between the printed illustration and the original image in the travel literature of this period.

Travel literature became a major literary genre in the English-speaking world in the nineteenth century.[1] These books were part of how knowledge about distant places was constructed, what one author has called "imaginative geography."[2] Thousands of accounts of voyages to all parts of the world were published, and purchased by would-be travelers, as well as those who substituted reading for travel in their quest to see exotic lands and people. Most of these books were illustrated, some by a map or two, but more often with anywhere from twenty to two hundred illustrations. Very little information is generally provided in the books themselves about the sources of the illustrations. In many cases, it is not even known whether the choice of illustration was made by the author or the publisher. If photographs are reproduced, the name of the photographer is rarely included. If sketches form the basis of the illustrations, the artist's name may sometimes be provided, but no indication is generally given as to whether the sketches were made on the spot or back home from the descriptions of the author. Virtually no information is given about the exact means by which the original illustration, whatever its form, was transferred to the printed page.

Lady Brassey's travel books are particularly valuable in this regard. In four of the five books relatively detailed information is provided about the sources of the illustrations, usually a combination of artists' sketches and photographs. These same four books also give the names of the craftsmen responsible for producing the wood engravings used in the illustrations in the books. (The earliest of her published works, *Eothen*,[3] is illustrated with actual photographs, not reproductions.) In addition to the information about the illustrations contained within the books themselves, the Brassey photograph

albums provide another critically important and very rare source of documentation, for many of the images in the books are also in the albums. It is thus possible in some cases to identify the photographers of the images in the books, as well as to document very precisely the way in which a photographic image was transformed by the wood engraving and printing processes.

It is in *Eothen*, the first of Lady Brassey's books, the most informally written and printed only for private circulation, that we get the most complete information about the day-to-day activities of Lady Brassey and her family. Not surprisingly, it is also in this book that there are the most detailed mentions of taking, developing, and purchasing photographs. The book itself is illustrated with the photographs which are mentioned in the text.

Although the calotypes of the 1840s were used for book illustration (Fox Talbot's own work, *The Pencil of Nature*, is the first and perhaps the best-known example),[4] it was not until the 1850s, with the development of other processes and the loosening of Fox Talbot's hold on British photography, that books illustrated with photographs became more numerous. Photographs, perceived by their audiences as completely accurate representations, were particularly appropriate for the illustration of travel literature, as the success of Francis Frith's 1858–59 work, *Egypt and Palestine, Photographed and Described by Francis Frith*, or John Thomson's *Antiquities of Cambodia* of 1867 indicate.[5] *Eothen*, published in 1872, fits into this tradition of photographically illustrated travel literature.[6]

There is no list of illustrations given in *Eothen*, but a careful reading of the text, as well as an examination of the photographs in the book, their captions, and the two photograph albums containing images of North America, Volumes 20 and 21, yields a great deal of detailed information about the sources of the images.[7] There are thirty-seven photographs on thirty-two pages (one page has three small portraits, and one page has four). Except for the two pages of portraits, each of the rather small images has an entire page to itself. Of these, twenty-two seem to have been taken by Mrs Brassey, either because the caption indicates so, or there is reference to taking the image in the text, or the quality of the image is rather poor. In Fig. A.1 we see the photograph which accompanies the caption, "View From My Bedroom Window, Quebec, September, 1872," a small poorly focused image of an unexceptional street which is difficult to see clearly. At another place in the text, Lady Brassey writes, "After our guests had left, we drove along the St. Louis road . . . to Wolfe's Monument, to photograph two of the carriages of the country."[8] Her photographs of the carriages before the monument, as well as a view of the monument itself, appear facing pages 16, 20, and 22. Of the remaining photographs not taken by Mrs Brassey, eight are the family portraits which Lady Brassey mentions having had taken in M[illegible] by "the great Notman."[9] These are arranged three or four to a pag[illegible]ssey's

Fig. A.1 *Eothen*, facing page 24.

portrait is the frontispiece of the book), neatly trimmed ovals, with the children and Lady Brassey's cousin, Gertrude Robinson, together on one page (Fig. A.2). Two additional photographs are labeled as images of a Sioux Indian which are obviously studio work, perhaps from Notman's studio. The photograph in Fig. A.3, entitled "How we went under Niagara," together with the text which describes the event in the book ("After returning from our wet expedition and being photographed in our oilskin costumes, . . ."[10]), provides a fascinating view of an essential component of a visit to Canada at this time, a trip to Niagara Falls. Four images appear to be professionally taken views of architecture or city views.[11] Nineteen of the illustrations from *Eothen* are also included in the photograph albums which contain images of

Fig. A.2 *Eothen*, facing page 6.

North America, presumably acquired during the trip described in *Eothen*. A page from that album is illustrated in Fig. A.4. Ten of the twelve photographs on the page appear in *Eothen*, and all except the Niagara group were taken by Mrs Brassey. A comparison of the original photographs in the albums with the copies in the book shows some variation in size between the two groups, with the reproductions slightly smaller in some cases. In two cases, the original rectangular image has been trimmed to a circle. For example, the central image in the top row of Fig. A.4, a view of the Falls of Chaudiere (near Ottawa), appears as a neatly trimmed circle in *Eothen*, while in the album the entire rectangle with its round image has been included.

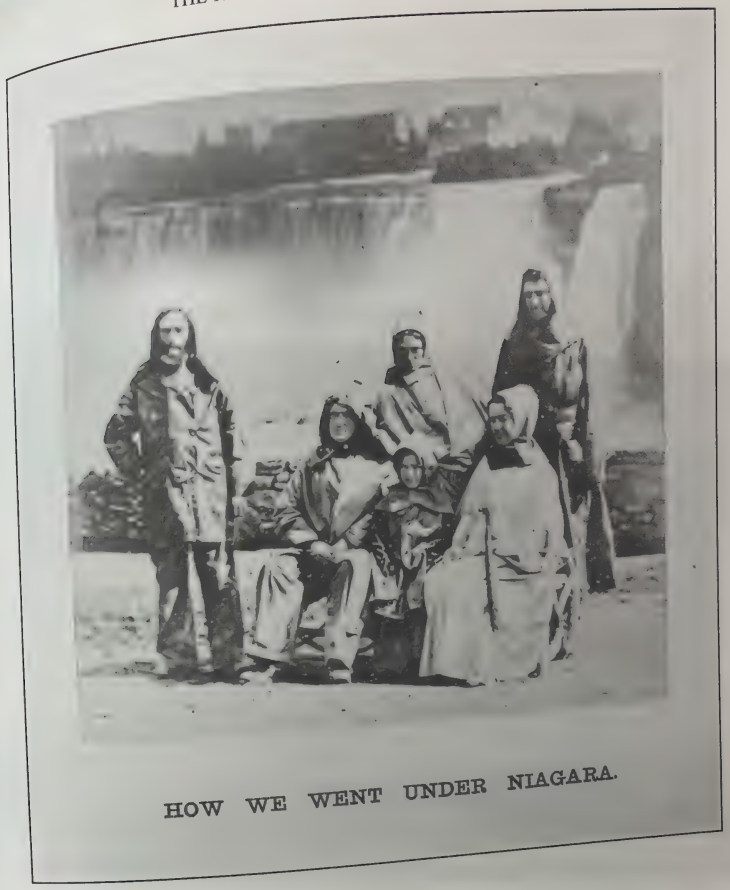


Fig. A.3 *Eothen*, facing page 50.

In *Eothen* there is a very clear, specific relationship between the photographs chosen to illustrate the text and the text itself. The same very straightforward relationship exists between the originals of the book's illustrations and the duplicated photographs pasted into the book. Such straightforward correspondences between text and image, and original and reproduction is not often the case with travel literature, and in this example would seem to exist because the book was conceived of by the author almost as a family album, with publication perhaps an afterthought.

This clear, specific relationship between text and image evolves into something more complex, as Lady Brassey's books become more polished and commercially successful. No longer illustrated merely with photographs

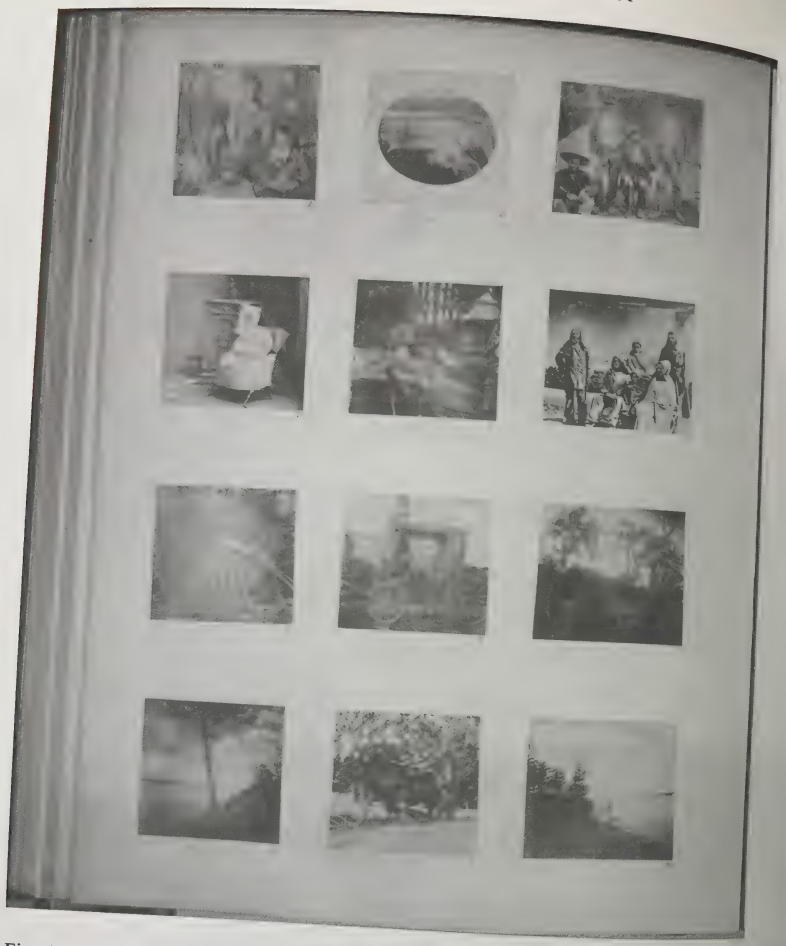


Fig. A.4 Volume 21, page 24.

taken or purchased on the spot, all of Lady Brassey's subsequent books have the benefit of an artist's sketches, as well as photographs. Her four later books are copiously illustrated with woodcuts taken from either sketches or photographs, and it is a complicated matter to sort out the original sources of most of the illustrations. However, even in these books, enough information is provided to get some sort of an idea of the sources of at least most of the illustrations, as well as the artists responsible for converting the originals into the wood engravings used for printing the images.

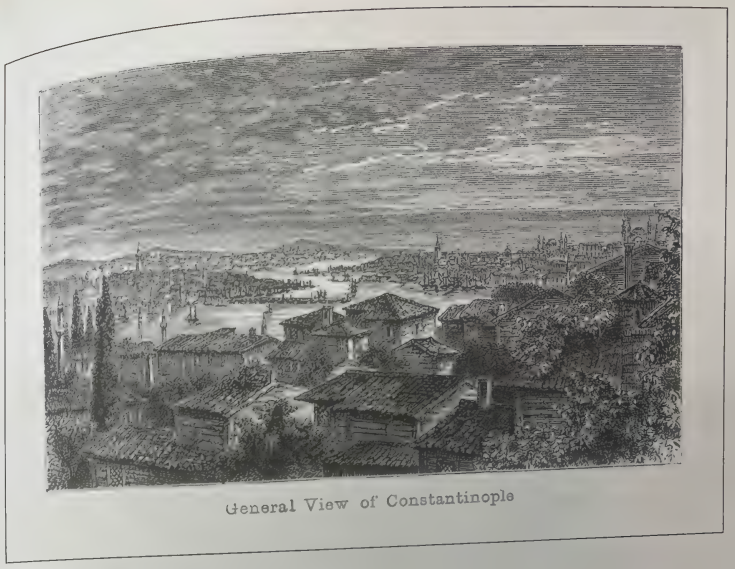


Fig. A.5 *Sunshine and Storm*, page 51.

The illustrations (mostly wood engraved copies of the originals) in Lady Brassey's four books after *Eothen* derive from four sources. The smallest number are the work of commercial artists, usually living overseas, as in "General View of Constantinople," attributed in the list of illustrations in *Sunshine and Storm* to Amadeo Preziosi, a well-known Maltese artist who lived in Constantinople, and whom Lady Brassey mentions visiting in order to look at his sketches (Fig. A.5).[12] Secondly, there is the work of commercial photographers whose images served as the basis for wood engravings. Figure A.6 presents both the photograph, from Volume 62, labeled "La tour de Leandre" in the lower left, in a script often seen on the work of Sebah, from whom the Brasseys bought a large number of photographs, and the book illustration which resulted, "Tower in the Bosphorus." The two images are very similar, except that the engraver has added two caiques, and shifted slightly the position of the one which appears in the photograph. A third source for illustrations was the sketches or photographs made by family members and friends on the voyages, or later, from objects in the collection. The small sketch (Fig. A.7) of a "War Necklace" from Hawaii is signed with two or three initials, and along with three other drawings in *A Voyage in the "Sunbeam"*, is perhaps the work of a Brassey family member. The photograph by Lady Brassey of a Turkish cemetery which appears in Volume 62, page 8, serves as the basis for the illustration in *Sunshine and Storm*, on page 82, entitled "Turkish Cemetery" (Fig. A.8). The last, and

Fig. A.6 *Sunshine and Storm*, page 55; Volume 62, page 15.

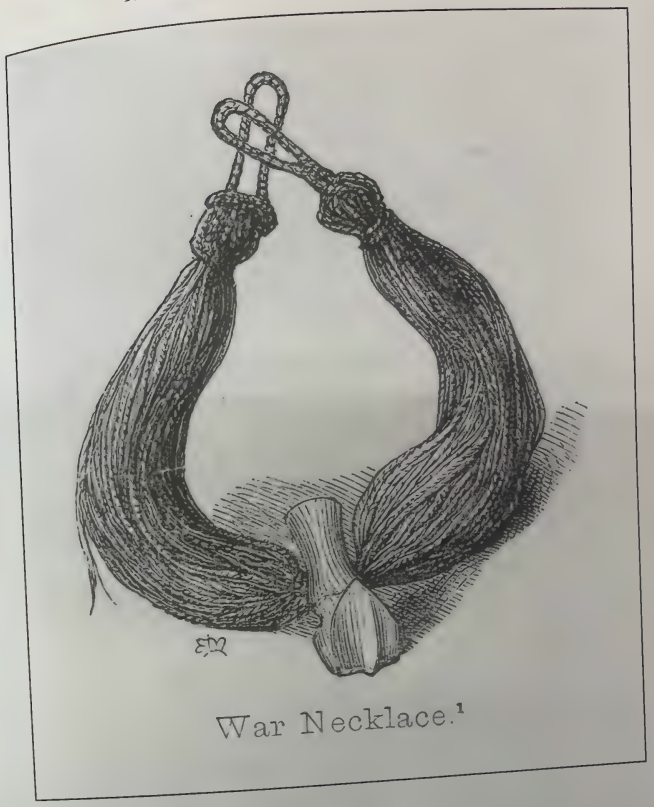


Fig. A.7 *A Voyage in the "Sunbeam"*, page 283.

most important source for the book illustrations is the sketches made by the artist on board the vessel with the Brassey family.

On the voyages which produced Lady Brassey's two earlier books, *A Voyage in the "Sunbeam"* and *Sunshine and Storm in the East*, the family was joined by the Hon. Albert Yelverton Bingham. The third son of Denis, 3rd Baron Clanmorris, he was born in 1840 and died in 1907.[13] Bingham was a landscape painter whose work was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1878. His contributions to the Brassey books are each signed with three neatly printed initials, generally along a lower corner.

The second of the artists primarily responsible for the sketches with which the subsequent two of Lady Brassey's books (*In the Trades, the Tropics and the Roaring Forties* and *The Last Voyage*) are illustrated is Robert Taylor Pritchett, 1828–1907. Pritchett was the son of a well-known gunmaker who

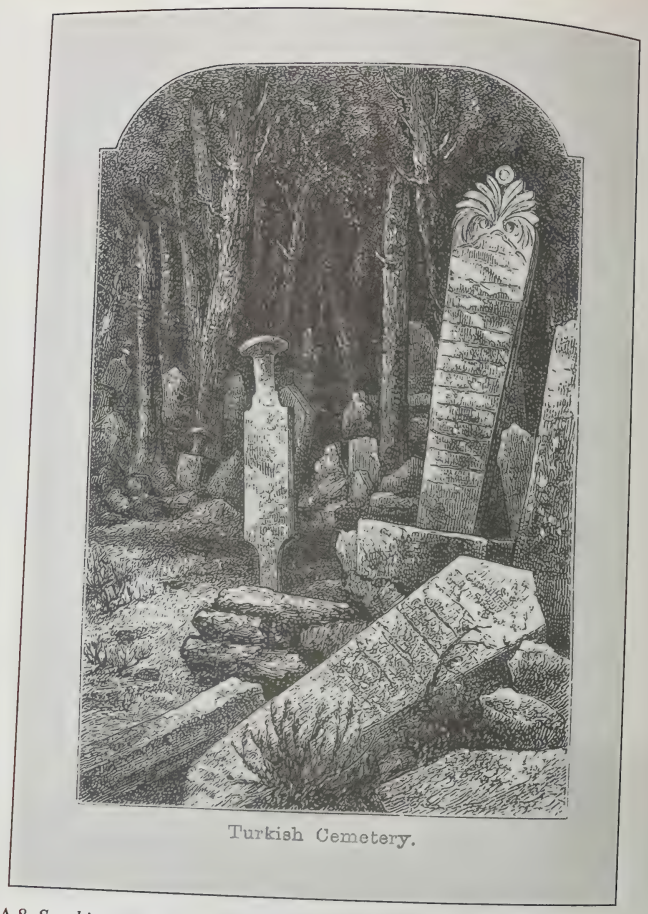


Fig. A.8 *Sunshine and Storm*, on page 82; Volume 62, page 8.

turned his attention to art in the 1850s, sketching in Belgium, Brittany, the Hebrides, Holland, and Norway, and exhibiting some of his drawings at the Royal Academy. One of his pictures was purchased by Queen Victoria, and after this he was occasionally asked to make watercolor drawings of royal functions. According to the brief entry on Pritchett in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, "In 1880 he cruised round the world with Mr. and Mrs Joseph Lambert in their yacht the Wanderer, and illustrated their book on *The Voyage of the Wanderer* (1883)."[14] Perhaps this experience led to his

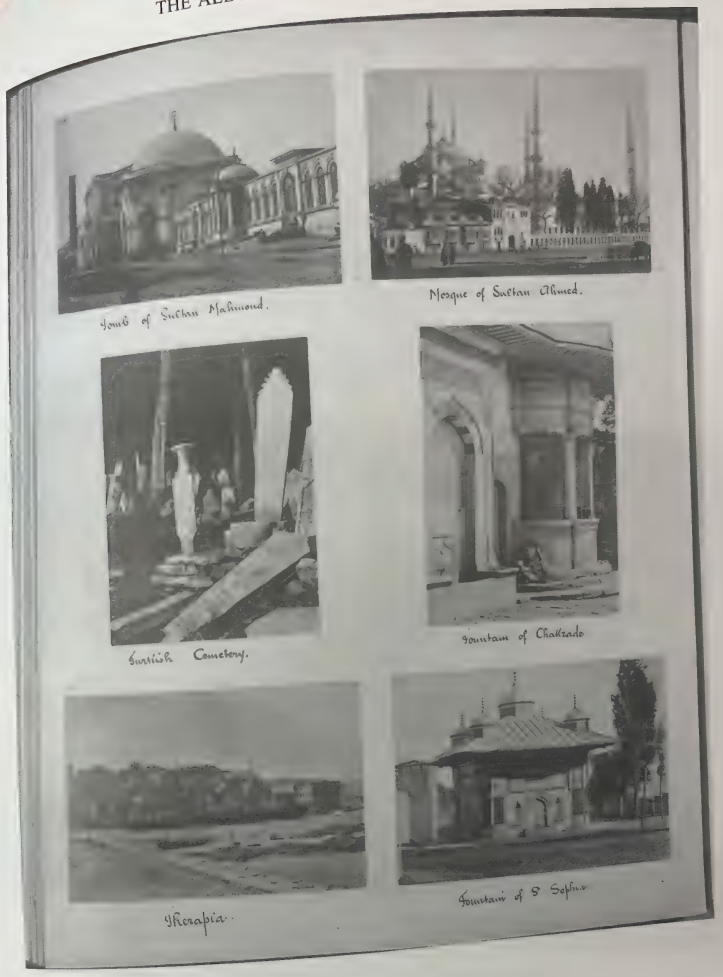
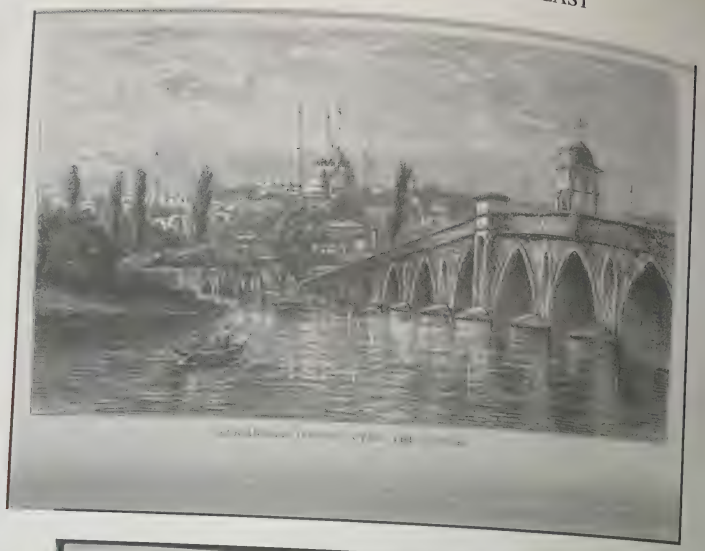


Fig. A.8 continued

accompanying the Brasseys on their voyages to the West Indies and Australia. Pritchett was known as an "enthusiastic and expert yachtsmen,"[15] and he amassed a considerable collection of curios and ancient armor. Some of his drawings and illustrations are in the Victoria and Albert Museum; others were sold at auction a few months after his death. Pritchett's drawings are signed with a monogram which combines his three initials. Both Bingham and Pritchett were competent artists, but as a subsequent examination of their



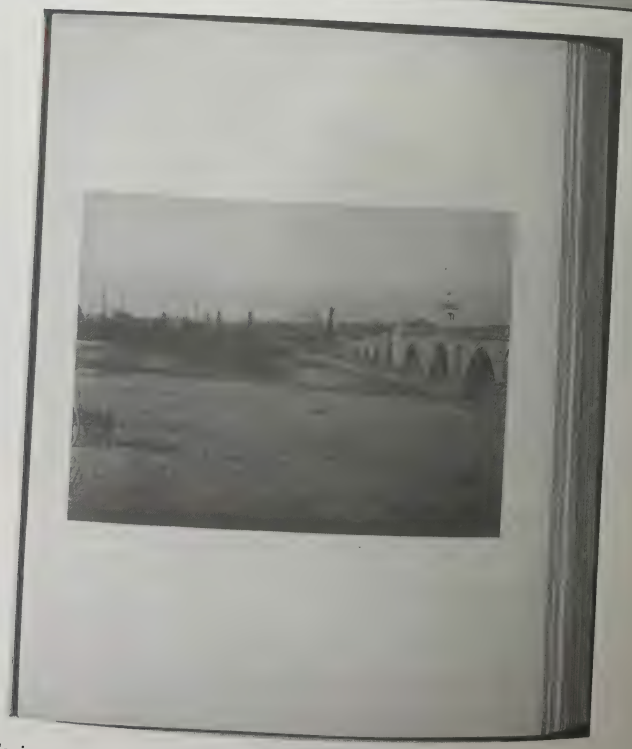


Fig. A.9 Facing page 358 in *Sunshine and Storm*; Volume 62, page 55.

work will indicate, their drawing styles were completely different. There are numerous references in the books to the difficult circumstances under which the artists frequently had to work, so we know that many of their sketches were made on the spot. It is also likely that some drawings were done later, after photographs, and an occasional very close correspondence between a signed illustration in a book and a photograph in an album serves to confirm this. An example of such a close correspondence between book illustration and album photograph is provided in Fig. A.9. The full page illustration "Adrianople (Bridge over the Tunja)" facing page 358 in *Sunshine and Storm*, signed A.Y.B.del. (del. meaning *delineavit*, or "drew it") in the lower left, is drawn from almost exactly the same vantage point as the photograph of the same subject which appears in Volume 62, page 55. Bingham's drawing is an elaborate one, which would have been time-consuming to execute on the spot, particularly considering the very busy schedule which the entire party followed during their one-day stay in Edirne. It seems likely that he would have used the photograph, and perhaps his notes, to finish the drawing later.

Except for *Eothen*, all of Lady Brassey's travel books are illustrated with wood engravings.[16] As an illustrative technique, wood engraving enjoyed a resurrection in popularity and artistic respectability in the nineteenth century, after being nearly eclipsed by copper plate engraving in the late eighteenth century. The mid-1850s began a twenty-year period which is generally referred to as the heyday of British book illustration.[17] The period acquired this reputation before the end of the century, and although it has since been re-evaluated in terms of the artistic quality of many of the images produced, there is no doubt that the period was an extraordinarily prolific period of book illustration.[18] For most of the second half of the nineteenth century, wood engraving was perhaps the most common method of illustrating books, at a range of prices; the London Post Office directories list 160 firms of wood engravers for the year 1880.[19]

The wood engraving process required the transfer of the original drawing or the photograph onto a wood block, after which the engraver would carve the design into the block. One of the innovations in nineteenth-century wood engraving was the substitution of the much harder boxwood for the softer fruitwoods used earlier, allowing sharper lines and more tonal gradations.[20] The original image could be drawn onto the block by the artist, or could be transferred to the block in one of two ways, either by actually pasting the drawing or photograph to the wood, in which case the engraver would cut through the original to produce the block, or by a photographic transfer process. The value of photography in reproducing drawings for the engraving process was realized immediately, and a method existed to accomplish this as early as 1839. As with most of the developments which took place in the early decades of the history of photography, there were numerous ways

devised to accomplish the same task, but it took some time to develop a simple and reliable method, so the photographic transfer of the original to the wood block was not widespread until the 1860s.[21] Unfortunately there is no way to know, merely by looking at the printed engraving, which method of transferring the original image was used. A second technical innovation in wood engraving was electrotyping, a process by which a metal facsimile of the original wood block was produced. The advantage of using a metal block was that it was more durable, allowing more images to be made from it. In addition, the original wood engraved block remained intact, so that if the metal plate was damaged in the printing process or became worn, another electrotype could be made from the wood block. Again, it is very difficult to tell by looking at the printed images whether an electrotype was used.

Three wood engravers were involved in the illustration of Lady Brassey's books, George Pearson, James Davis Cooper, and Edward Whymper. All three were successful and productive wood engravers, whose careers are documented with a variety of engravings in a range of publications. Pearson worked on all four books, and was completely responsible for the engravings in *A Voyage in the "Sunbeam"* and *Sunshine and Storm*. He is described as being a specialist in animal and natural history subjects,[22] which is perhaps how he became involved with the Brassey books, since many of their illustrations document the flora and fauna of the regions described. He is also known to have engraved the illustrations for such works as T.W. Atkinson's 1860 *Travels in the Region of the Upper and Lower Amoor* (East Asia), G.E. Freeman and F. H. Salvin's *Falconry, its claims, history and practice*, published in 1859, and G. L. Hartwig's *The Sea and Its Living Wonders*, 1861, and to have done a vignette "Falls of Niagara" for Bohn's *Pictorial Handbook of Geography*, *c.* 1861. Those wood engravings which are signed have "Pearson Sc" cut neatly along one lower edge (see Fig. A.9).

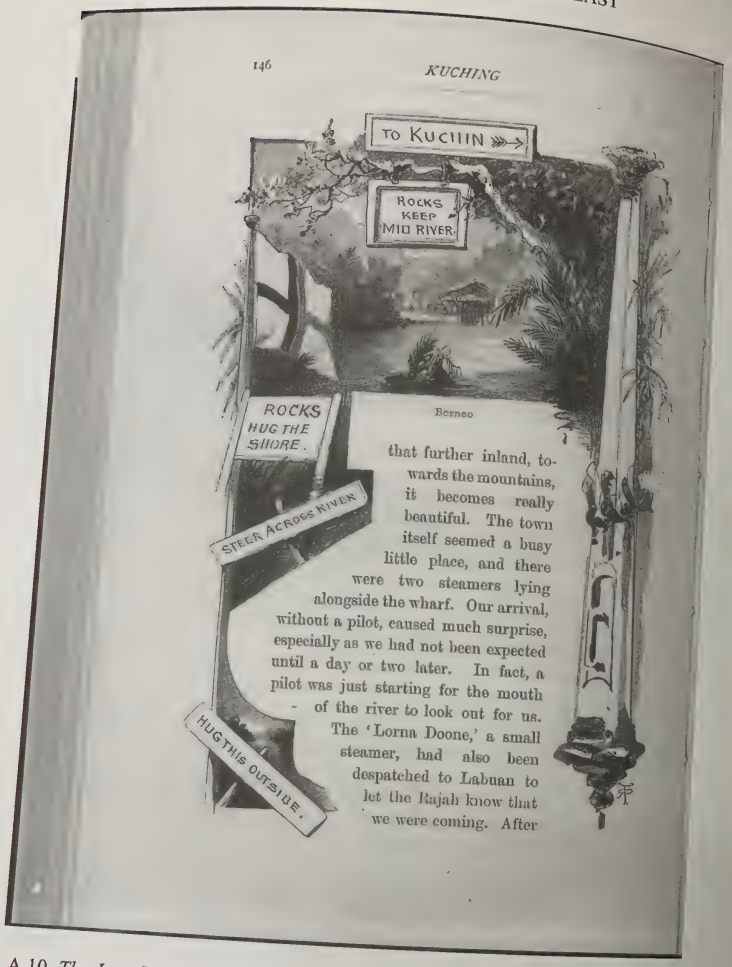
James Davis Cooper (1823–1904), usually known as J.D. Cooper, worked on two books, *In the Trades* and *The Last Voyage*. Since none of the engravings in either book is signed, it is impossible to know how many he was responsible for. Cooper was a prominent wood engraver and draftsman, with a workshop at 188 Strand for most of the second half of the nineteenth century. In addition to his work on various books, Cooper also did wood engravings for various periodicals, including the *Illustrated London News*, *Art Journal*, and the *English Illustrated Magazine*. According to one source, Cooper was a "wood engraver of fine, clear line and a faithful engraver–copyist."[23]

The third of the wood engravers employed in the Brassey book illustrations was Edward Whymper (1840–1911). Born into a well-known family of London wood engravers, he joined the family business and was a wood engraver for his entire life, but his real love was apparently mountaineering. He was trained in the engraving of architectural views, but

specialized in alpine landscapes and portraits. Whymper was himself an enthusiastic traveler and writer, publishing *Scrambles amongst the Alps in the Years 1860–1869*. His work is in the collection of the British Library and British Museum. He was involved in the illustrations of *The Last Voyage*, in which his signature appears thirty-four times. In comparison, Pearson signed three, and Cooper, none.

The outstanding achievements in illustrated books of the 1850s to 1870s which contributed to the reputation of that period were the artists' sketches and drawings which were reproduced in wood engravings. Often the work of very well-known artists, the illustrations were sometimes not very well integrated with the text, and in some cases seemed completely unrelated to the text they were illustrating. This "new style" of book illustration based on painting and pen and ink drawing is considered particularly characteristic of books known as "Sixties" works.[24] The Brassey books are not part of this trend in book illustration. To the contrary, the illustrations in all four books, whether full page or much smaller, are usually directly tied into events and scenes described in the text. Furthermore, although both of the men who produced the drawings are competent artists, most of their work in these books is primarily educational or decorative, and does not aspire to anything else.

There is a striking difference in illustrative style between the two books illustrated with Bingham's work, and the later two, which contain the drawings of Pritchett. All four books are approximately the same length, nearly 500 pages, but while the first two, *A Voyage in the "Sunbeam"* and *Sunshine and Storm in the East*, contain 118 and 114 illustrations, respectively, the two later books each contain at least 100 more illustrations, with about 292 illustrations in *In the Trades*, and 226 in *The Last Voyage*. While the majority of illustrations in all four books are less than a full page in size, many of the wood engravings in the two later books are quite small, about five centimeters on a side. In the two earlier books, the half or one-third page illustrations are generally placed in the center of the page with text above and below. Page layout in the later books is much more diverse, with text often completely framed by illustration. Figure A.10 provides an example of this creative page design. This illustration from page 146 of *The Last Voyage* shows some of the noticeboards which the Brasseys encountered on the Kuching river approaching Sarawak in Borneo. The experience of navigating an unfamiliar river with the aid of the noticeboards is described on the previous page. While the experience was no doubt very exciting, the sketching potential was not necessarily so, but Pritchett has exploited the decorative possibilities of the signs and river scenery by creating a framing illustration for the page of text. A different type of page design involved breaking up text blocks and surrounding them with a series of drawings, as in Fig. A.11, which reproduces a steep descent by narrow gauge railway in the


146 KUCHING

TO KUCHIN

ROCKS KEEP MID RIVER.

ROCKS HUG THE SHORE.

STEER ACROSS RIVER

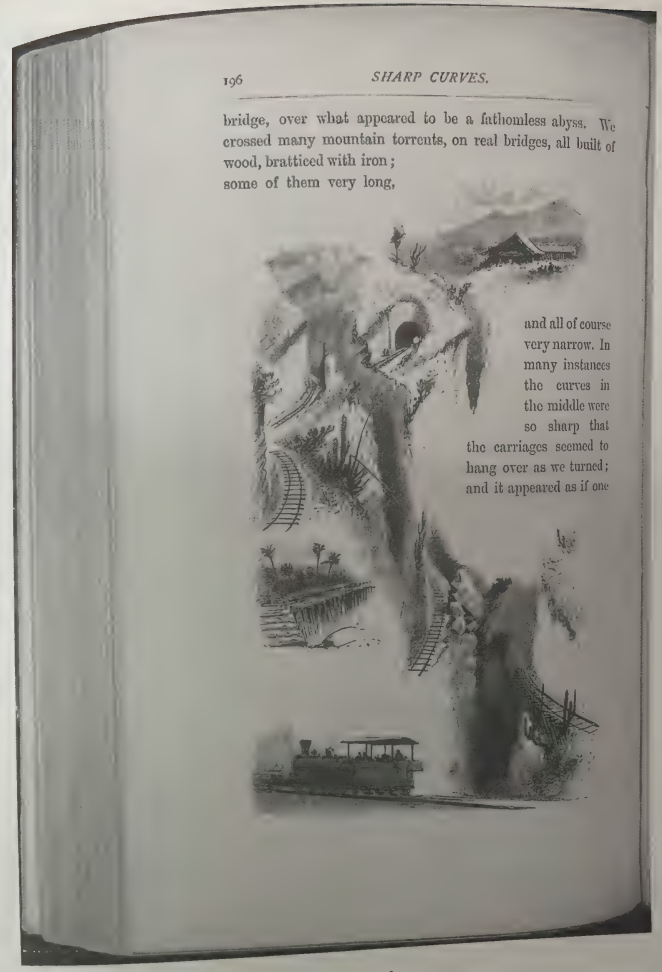
HUG THIS OUTSIDE.

Borneo

that further inland, towards the mountains, it becomes really beautiful. The town itself seemed a busy little place, and there were two steamers lying alongside the wharf. Our arrival, without a pilot, caused much surprise, especially as we had not been expected until a day or two later. In fact, a pilot was just starting for the mouth of the river to look out for us. The 'Lorna Doone,' a small steamer, had also been despatched to Labuan to let the Rajah know that we were coming. After

Fig. A.10 *The Last Voyage*, page 146.

mountains of Venezuela in a multi-section image around which the text is arranged. While each artist's work is intended to be informative, illustrating, or in some cases augmenting, events or places mentioned in the text, Pritchett's style is much more decorative. Many of his drawings have elaborate framing elements which are unrelated to the subject of the drawing, as for example on page 53 from *The Last Voyage*, entitled "Interior, Delhi," with an elaborate floral motif, unrelated to the subject of the illustration, framing the upper side of the drawing (Fig. A.12). A series of four small


196 SHARP CURVES.

bridge, over what appeared to be a fathomless abyss. We crossed many mountain torrents, on real bridges, all built of wood, bratticed with iron; some of them very long, and all of course very narrow. In many instances the curves in the middle were so sharp that the carriages seemed to hang over as we turned; and it appeared as if one

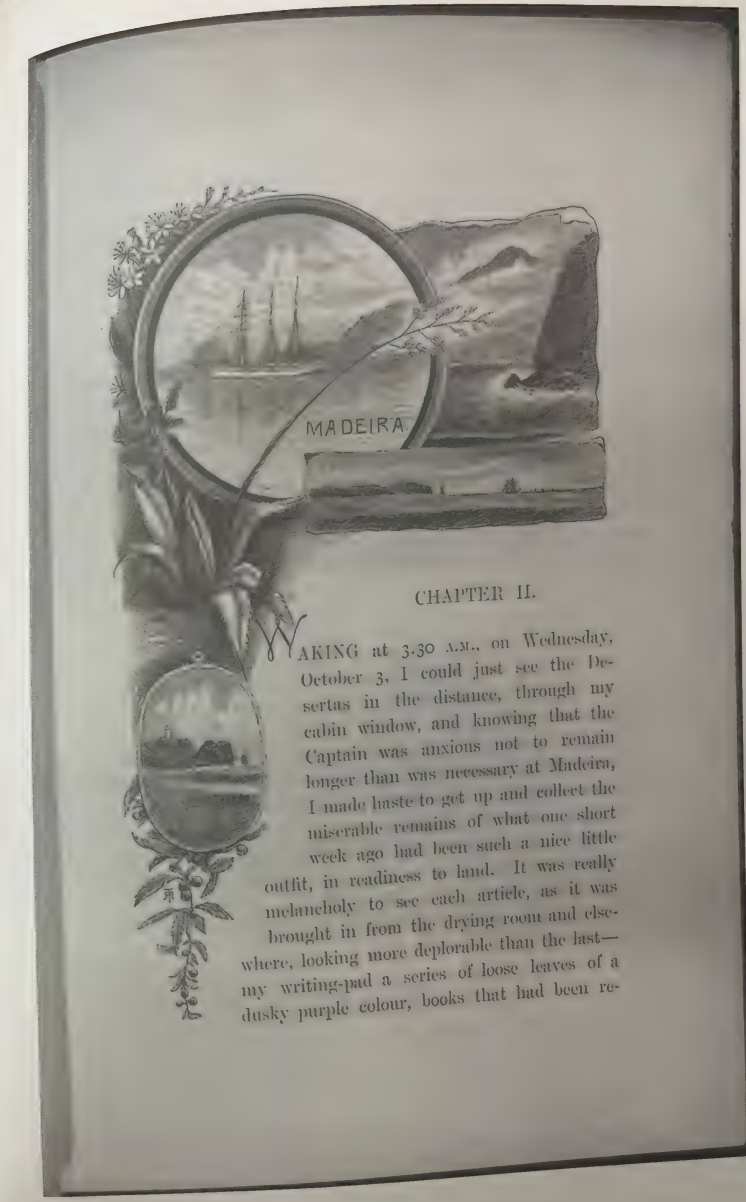
Fig. A.11 *In the Trades and Tropics*, page 196.

landscapes, presented together with plant elements which serve as a framing device for the landscapes on the first page of Chapter II, *Trades and Tropics* (Fig. A.13), demonstrates one type of the ornamentation which often accompanies chapter headings. As a consequence of their varied and creative page design, the two later books, *In the Trades*, with its nearly 300 illustrations, and *The Last Voyage* with many wood engravings as well as tinted lithographs, are much more visually engaging than the two earlier

At breakfast we had the unexpected pleasure of meeting our old friends Major and Mrs. Hannay. He is now aide-de-camp to the Duke of Connaught, and, directly our meal was over,

H

Fig. A.12 *The Last Voyage*, page 53.



CHAPTER II.

WAKING at 3.30 A.M., on Wednesday, October 3, I could just see the Desertas in the distance, through my cabin window, and knowing that the Captain was anxious not to remain longer than was necessary at Madeira, I made haste to get up and collect the miserable remains of what one short week ago had been such a nice little outfit, in readiness to land. It was really melancholy to see each article, as it was brought in from the drying room and elsewhere, looking more deplorable than the last—my writing-pad a series of loose leaves of a dusky purple colour, books that had been re-

Fig. A.13 *Trades and Tropics*, facing page 23.

books. Since all four books have the same author and publisher, to a large extent the difference in illustrative style must be a reflection of the different drawing styles of the two artists, although there perhaps may have been some change in taste on the part of the publisher or author with their increasing experience in the production of travel books.

The illustrations of Lady Brassey's travel books are an essential part of the presentation of material in that format. The photograph albums, with their 6,000 images, provided a wealth of visual data to supplement the artists' sketches made on the voyages in illustrating the books. The opportunity to examine them together provides a valuable opportunity for understanding the process of book illustration at a certain moment in the long and complex history of that art form.

Notes

1. In the last two decades a great deal of new research has begun to appear on this fascinating body of material, drawing it into post-colonialist discourse, feminist analysis and intellectual history more generally. See Schwartz, 1996; Stafford, 1984; Pratt, 1992; and Mulvey, 1983, among others, both for their own analyses, and for additional bibliography.
2. Schwartz, 1996: 26.
3. As noted above, according to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Lady Brassey's first printed work was *The Flight of the Meteor*, published for private circulation in 1869 (Lee, 1901: 261–2). However, this work is not listed in the *National Union Catalogue* of the United States Library of Congress, and I have never seen a copy of it.
4. In his 1979 article on the early use of photographs to illustrate travel books, Rolf Krauss mentions an earlier example of a book which included a photograph as illustration, but also says that he himself has never been able to locate the example to which the author whose work he cites refers (Krauss, 1979: 23). Another early pioneer in the production of photographically illustrated books was Anna Atkins, whose *Photographs of British Algae: Cyanotype Impressions*, published between 1843 and 1853, includes nearly 400 cyanotypes.
5. The close and complex relationship between the photographic image and the construction of knowledge about particular places and people is discussed above, in Chapter 1.
6. Books illustrated with tipped-in photographs were expensive. *Eothen* was printed and circulated privately, in at least two different editions, one with photographs and a second less expensive version, with two plates based on an artist's sketches instead of the photographs. The expense and labor involved in illustrating a book with actual photographs certainly contributed to the effort to develop technology to allow the completely mechanical reproduction of photographs in a book.
7. For a discussion of the *Eothen* photographs in the context of Canadian photo history, see Micklewright, 1993.
8. *Eothen*: 22.
9. ibid.: 32. William Notman was the best-known commercial photographer in Montreal at the time of the Brasseys' visit, and she twice mentions going to his studio. Although Lady Brassey says that she prefers the work of another professional photographer, Alexander Henderson, for landscapes (*Eothen*: 29), they did have their portraits taken by Notman. All of the Notman negatives, and other studio records are in the Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum, McGill University, Montreal.
10. *Eothen*: 48.
11. At numerous times in her book Lady Brassey mentions visiting photography shops, or purchasing photographs, in Montreal, Boston, and Washington, DC.
12. *Sunshine and Storm*: 101.
13. Houfe, 1978: 235.
14. Lee, 1912: 138.
15. ibid.
16. Her final book, *The Last Voyage*, which was published posthumously in 1889, has in addition to the wood engravings twenty-one full-page and nineteen smaller tinted lithographs, printed by E. Nister in Nuremberg.
17. James, 1947: 35. The literature on nineteenth-century book illustration is extensive. For works which provide an overview, or which focus on the wood engravers and their work, please see deMare (1981), Engen (1985), Houfe (1978), James (1947), and Muir (1971).
18. For a succinct discussion of this period in book illustration, and how its reputation has been re-evaluated over the years, see Wakeman, 1973: 69–73.
19. Engen, 1985: 81.
20. Boxwood is a very slow-growing wood, and the blocks were generally rather small. Five-inch squares were commonly mentioned as the largest generally available, with larger images being made of several smaller blocks, bolted together. Although the Brassey books have many full-page illustrations, only two in *A Voyage in the "Sunbeam"*, following pages 266 and 402, seem to have been produced from more than one piece of wood.
21. Wakeman, 1973: 76–81.
22. Engen, 1985: 204.
23. ibid.: 54.
24. See Wakeman, 1973: 69ff. for a more complete discussion of what he and others have defined as the new style, or "Sixties" book illustration.

Brief Overview of the Brassey Albums[1]

Volume[2]	Subject	Number of images	Photographers whose names appear in the album
1	Australia	132	Kerry & Jones
2	Australia	141	Kerry & Jones
3	Australia	130	Chuck, Foster & Martin
4	Australia	116	
5	Australia	57	
6	Australia	98	Chuck Photo; G. Bayliss
7	Australia	116	Washbourne Photo
8	Formosa, Macao, Hong Kong, Japan	80	
9	China	80	A. Fong
10	Japan	80	
11	Japan	82	
12	India	106	Deen Dayal, Cabazon
13	Burma	94	
14	India, Ceylon	97	
15	Samoa, Tonga	97	Burton Brothers, Bell & Langford
16	Hawaii	89	Henry Chase
17	Hawaii, Sandwich	123	
18	Bermuda, Trinidad	80	
19	Trinidad, Bermuda, Madeira	73	
20	North America, Canada	25	
21	North America, Canada, Mexico	335	Notman, Horetzky, Henderson, Cotter
22	South Africa	27	
23	Africa, Mauritius	38	
24	Madeira	131	
25	Algiers, North Africa	15	
26	North Africa, Algiers	40	

Volume	Subject	Number of images	Photographers whose names appear in the album
27	North Africa, Algiers	65	
28	Egypt	61	Sebah, Hammerschmidt
29	Egypt	59	Béchard, Sebah
30	Egypt, Alexandria	73	Béchard, Sebah
31	Egypt	103	Béchard, Sebah, Fiorillo
32	Egypt	88	Béchard, Sebah
33	Egypt	70	Béchard, Sebah, Dumas, Hammerschmidt
34	Egypt	68	Sebah
35	Greece, Corfu, Cyprus	70	
36	Cyprus	116	
37	Italy	81	
38	Italy	68	
39	Italy	64	Ponti, Graziani
40	Italy	68	G. Sommer
41	Italy	40	
42	Italy	63	Sommer, Tagliarini, Godard
43	Italy	49	
44	Italy	78	MacPherson
45	Italy	79	
46	Italy	41	
47	Gibraltar, Spain, Tangiers	108	
48	Malta	51	
49	Malta	47	
50	France, Spain, Gibraltar, Italy, Normandy	122	
51	Malta, Sicily, France, Monaco	83	Graziani
52	Portugal	47	
53	Spain	69	
54	France, Spain	82	Baldus, Mage, Bisson Frères
55	Tenerife, Azores	143	
56	Holland	44	
57	Scotland, Ireland, SW England, Scilly Isles	232	G.W. Wilson, Gibson, Notman, J. Valentine
58	Switzerland	47	
59	Austria	86	

Volume	Subject	Number of images	Photographers whose names appear in the album
60	Denmark, Sweden, Germany, Helgoland, Rhine Valley	105	C. Rose
61	Switzerland, Austria	68	G. Sommer
62	Turkey	118	Sebah
63	Russia	56	Scherer & Narholz
64	Seascapes	27	Col. Stuart Wortley
65	Sculpture	28	Bisson Frères
66	Artworks	13	E. Baldus, LeGray, Voland, Bingham
67	Artworks	28	Carlo Ponti
68	Ships & landscapes	43	
69	Amateur photographs	222	
70	Brassey family	90	Henderson, West & Son

Notes

1. The information contained here is based in large part on the painstaking cataloguing of the Brassey albums carried out by the late Brita Mack, Curator of Photography at the Huntington.
2. Volume numbers were assigned after the albums had entered the Huntington collection.

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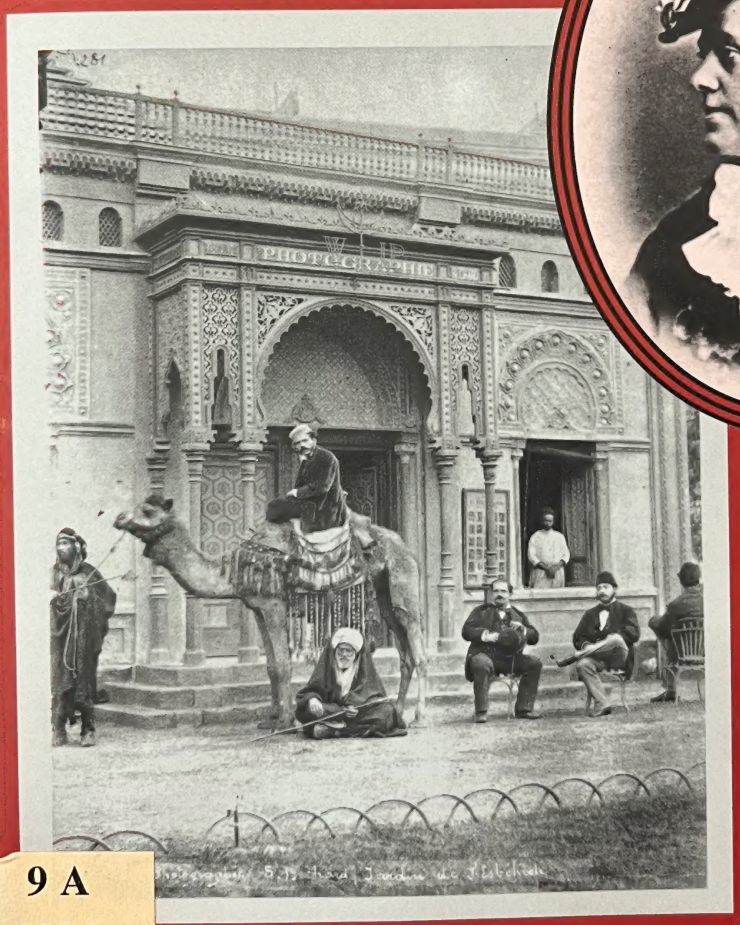
A Victorian Traveler in the Middle East

The Photography and Travel Writing of Annie Lady Brassey



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Nancy Micklewright